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HISTORY
OF
AMPLEFORTH ABBEY.



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AMPLEFORTH ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

THE
HISTORY OF
AMPLEFORTH ABBEY

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF ST. LAWRENCE'S
AT DIEULOUARD TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
DOM CUTHBERT ALMOND, O.S.B.
Priest of Ampleforth Abbey

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON
R. & T. WASHBOURNE, 4 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.
BENZIGER BROS., New York, Cincinnati and Chicago

1903

ST. WILLIAM'S PRESS,
MARKET WEIGHTON, YORKS.

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2593
A5285

TO
RIGHT REV. FR. ABBOT
AND
THE MONKS OF ST. LAWRENCE'S.

PREFACE.

THE form which a history takes is partly at least determined by the events it narrates. In a period of unrest, it is the unstable elements which catch the eye and demand attention; whilst the fixed features, however important in themselves, are out of focus. In a period of making, we note the workers and their work, and take little heed of the material they are fashioning to their liking. In a period of big events, the lesser details of history would be out of place and irrelevant, even though interesting and curious enough in themselves to deserve special study. The writer is almost painfully aware of the sketchiness of his work—of the multitude of facts and persons, happenings, motives, relationships, inferences, which he has been unable to bring into use; of the many sins of omission, as they may be deemed, and of the disappointment some readers will feel when they discover that matters, about which they desire information, have been left out, or passed over with a word. But for many of his shortcomings he is unable to make any other apology than that he was mastered by the events he had to relate. He had believed it possible for him to perform his task in a very different manner, but this was before the machinery was set in motion. He had believed it possible to make the ancient history of St. Lawrence's more of a chronicle, leaving few years

altogether unmarked, and few of the Priors and officials of the house—few even of the workers on the mission, without a brief mention. He also had believed it possible in the later history of Ampleforth to make it more of a school history, to write of old boys, old prefects, old masters, old associations, of Goremire and Rievaulx days, of holidays, and games and athletic records, of neighbours and the neighbourhood, of plays and play-acting, music and singers, of old stories and old recollections—in a word, of all the curious and pleasant things which linger in the memories of old Laurentians and make up the current tradition of college life. But the larger events seemed to call for larger treatment, and interesting details had to be sacrificed for the sake of the general perspective. Indeed, the writer is afraid that he deserves blame for the many extraneous details he has put in his story, rather than for those he has omitted, and that a simpler narrative would have been more effective.

For the errors that may be found in the book apology is here offered beforehand. It is hoped they are few and of little consequence. Valuable help and encouragement have been given to the writer by his friends,—notably by Fr. Elphege Hind, who assisted in the necessary researches, and by C. L. Taylor, Esq., who has very kindly read through the proofs. But in the compilation of history from stray fragments of documents and odds and ends of letters and papers, it is easy to misread or misunderstand or misplace facts and statements. Perhaps the writer may be judged to have been overbold in traversing or correcting the views and assertions of others, and may be found to have made mistakes himself in doing so. He is

very willing to be corrected also in his turn. He is not conscious of going beyond his warranty in anything he has written. In one instance he has left undisturbed, through indecision, what he believes to be an inaccuracy. It is said in the Chapter on the Great Plague that Prior Elmer wrote a beautiful hand. The writer suspected and suspects that this statement is a mistaken variation of Weldon's saying that Fr. Anthony Batt, one of Elmer's subjects, "writ a most curious hand." He had a mind to cross out the phrase, but in the end did not carry out the intention. Let us hope it is not a mistake after all, and that the interesting Laurentian prior did excel in handwriting.

The illustrations are so notable a feature of the volume that it would be waste of words to call the reader's attention to them. But it should be said, not as claiming indulgence for them—they do not need it—but as their most commendable feature that, with a few exceptions, such as the portraits, they are all Ampleforth work. Indefatigable Fr. Maurus Powell has kindly superintended the drawing of them, and indeed has done the greater number of them himself. Thanks are freely given to him and to all the artists who have helped him. Their names will be found in the list of illustrations, and Amplefordians will be pleased to see amongst them that of Mr. Boddy our old master and friend, and that also of his distinguished pupil, the famous illustrator of books, Mr. Herbert Railton.

The design of the book-cover is intended as a reminiscence of the Monastic bindings in the old library at Dieulouard.

A question has been asked, and will probably be asked again in a year or two, when did St. Lawrence's begin? What should be reckoned as the year and the day of its foundation? That is a question easily answered if one could determine what it is that constitutes the act of foundation. If it is considered to be the Episcopal sanction, by which a building and the community occupying it are canonically erected into a monastery, St. Lawrence's dates from April 8th, 1609. If the existence of the Monastery counts from the first entering of the monks into residence, then the date is August 9th, 1608. If, again, St. Lawrence's began with the acquisition of the old buildings at Dieulouard by the Benedictines, it came into existence on Dec. 2nd, 1606. But if, as some maintain, it ought to date its existence as a Monastery from its first Monastic act, then St. Lawrence's began when Dr. Gifford took the habit for Dieulouard at Rheims, on July 11th, 1608. The writer has no authority and no desire to determine which is the most proper of these dates. His inclination, naturally, is to choose the earliest date possible.

June 24th, 1903.

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THE RIGHT REV. J. O. SMITH, O.S.B., D.Ph.
First Abbot of Ampleforth.

HISTORY OF AMPLEFORTH ABBEY,

FROM ITS BEGINNING AT DIEULOUARD,
TO THE PRESENT DAY.

CHAPTER I.

The English Benedictines.

THE history of the beginning of the Anglo-Benedictine Abbey of St. Lawrence is, in the fullest and strictest sense, the history of the establishment of the present English Benedictine Congregation. The two cannot be separated. The foundation of the one determined and shaped the foundation of the other. Most Religious Orders and monastic revivals acknowledge some venerable servant of God as their author. But, in restoring the English Benedictine Congregation, Divine Providence made use of no individual leader; there was never any master-mind inspiring its energies and controlling its destinies—no founder who gathered disciples around him and filled them with his spirit; who seized occasions and opened out opportunities; whose wisdom provided for present needs and forestalled future events; whose faith and courage smoothed away difficulties and commanded success. A few earnest men summoned by God from distant places to work in the same vineyard, who though trained

in different schools, with conflicting customs, ideas and interests, were brethren of the same race, fighting under the same flag—this was the material out of which the Congregation was fashioned. The manner of the making may be briefly described as the bringing of these brethren together under the same roof. And the roof under which they were—metaphorically, at least—gathered was the ruined cloister of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, in Lorraine.

The circumstances under which St. Lawrence's played this useful part were in no sense ordinary or peaceful ones. The situation was difficult and intricate, and there was heat before the fusion took place. To explain this it is necessary to narrate, with some detail, the story of the first Benedictine English missionary priests.

The suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII was, over and above the stripping of the altars and the seizure of the lands, the destruction of monasticism in England. It is written: "I will strike the shepherd and the sheep of the flock shall be dispersed." Henry did, in a few instances, strike at the shepherds, but, for the most part, he troubled himself very little about them,—except to buy some of them off with pensions. What he did is expressed in the Prophet's words: "I will not feed you: that which dieth let it die: and that which is cut off let it be cut off." Monachism was starved out of existence. When the Abbeys and Priories were seized and their property confiscated, the monks were left each one to shift for himself. With no corporate means of support there could be no corporate life, and with no corporate life there could be no monasticism. An Abbey or Priory, when its walls were thrown down and its cloisters dismantled, was not only suppressed, it was dismembered; and its very life-blood flowed from the wounds. Perhaps this should not have been the case. Perhaps, also, it never will be the case again. It is permissible to believe there was some defect in a system which was broken up so easily. It is certain

that modern Congregations and Orders will not be found vulnerable in the same place and in the same way. Adversity is as good a master as prosperity is a bad one. We, after experience of persecution, find it difficult to understand why, when a monastery was robbed of its goods, it was necessarily robbed of its life. "When they persecute you in one city, flee into another." Monks and monasteries have done this so often since the days of the Reformation, that the act seems as natural and inevitable as the advice is authoritative. But when the monasteries were suppressed it was different. The monks were helpless, because everything had been supplied to them without any effort of their own, and they had never had occasion to rely upon themselves. The idea of transplanting the great Abbey of Westminster into a little village of Lorraine, or of reviving St. Alban's in Flanders, or of an English Congregation of monks without English homes or lands, had not dawned upon them. Their minds reached no further than the hope of a monastic revival under a Catholic King or Queen.

Such a revival did take place in the days of Queen Mary. The story is of the briefest. By a royal decree of the year 1556, the fourth of Mary's reign, the Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster,* was re-erected and given back into the hands of the Benedictines. Dr. John Feckenham, a monk of Evesham, was nominated Abbot. With fourteen brethren, gathered from different places, he took possession of the Abbey on the 21st of November of the same year. Two years later the Queen died, and in the second year of Elizabeth the Abbot was a second time in prison, and Westminster handed back into Protestant use.

* There were several other restorations made at the same time: the Grey Friars at Greenwich, the Dominicans at St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, Sion House, the Carthusians at Sheen, the Observants at Southampton, the Knights of St. John at Clerkenwell and the Dominican Nuns at Langley in Hertfordshire.

One thing was made very clear by Mary's monastic revival: that no Catholic King or Queen could ever by any possibility restore the old order of things. The confiscated Church lands and goods were already beyond recovery. Mary wished, but dared not attempt, their restoration; the Holy See neither attempted nor wished it, but granted a Brief of indemnity to all holders of ecclesiastical property. Moreover, even if the monastic houses and lands could have been re-seized, there were few or no monks to be put in possession of them. To revive a single Benedictine Abbey was as much as the Queen found herself able to do, even at so early a date. The storm raised against the monasteries by Henry VIII had been so violent that it had thrown them down bodily or torn them up by the roots, and in the interval before Queen Mary came to the throne, they had already become so withered—dying if not dead—that it was useless to think of raising and propping them up, or of replanting them. A very little later, when our history commences, two monks only were left of the great Benedictine Order, which had owned, it is said, one-fifth of the kingdom: one, a monk of Evesham blind and almost a centenarian, who died in 1605, reconciled to the Church by Fr. Augustine Bradshaw, a Spanish Benedictine missionary; the other Fr. Sigebert Buckley, a monk of Westminster, blind also, a prisoner at Wisbeach, nearly as old but living a little longer—just long enough to save the old strain of English Benedictinism from extinction, to provide an heir to the royal Abbey founded by King Edward, and to preserve unbroken the succession of English Benedictines from the days of St. Augustine to the present time.

Let the reader, therefore, look back to the days when a great portion of England was still Catholic at heart, whilst the ministry was wholly Protestant; when the flock was without a shepherd, or with only such shepherds as the one described by the Prophet, "who shall not visit what

is forsaken, nor seek what is scattered, nor heal what is broken, nor nourish that which standeth ;” when the noblest and best of the Catholic youth of the country went into voluntary exile to fit themselves for the Priesthood, and came back, holding their lives in their hands, to minister in secret to their persecuted countrymen, and keep alive the Faith at the cost of their blood. English colleges were founded in Spain and Flanders and Italy, and into the enterprise of the English Mission was thrown the devotion and heroism of a Crusade. Unfortunately, there were politicians among these good priests, and therefore parties ; consequently, contentions arose between the Seculars and the Jesuits which threatened to spoil their work and disfigure the beauty of their sacrifice. But it was out of these contentions, or at least through them, that the beginning of a new English Benedictine Congregation was made.

Fr. Augustine Baker, a contemporary, and himself a leader in the Benedictine revival, has left us, in his MS. *Treatise on the English Mission*, the best and certainly the most trustworthy account of the rise of the Benedictine mission. It began with the secession of a number of students from the English colleges in Rome and Spain, and their entry into Benedictine Monasteries. The first of these, ‘the prime star’ as Weldon calls him, was Fr. Gregory Sayr or Sayer, who left the English College at Rome for Monte Cassino, and took the habit in the year 1588. Frs. Preston and Beech followed a year or two after ; the latter taking the habit in the Monastery of St. Justina at Padua. Some others imitated their example, and, in the year 1599, a similar and a greatly more extensive movement—“whether,” says Fr. Baker, “encouraged by the example of those of Italy or otherwise of themselves”—was begun in Spain.

That this defection from the English Colleges did not take place without opposition, heart-burning and re-

proaches, will be understood. With a few exceptions, the students who seceded had taken the customary oath to go on the English mission, and their new Benedictine vow of stability, or permanence in their monastery and Congregation, seemed to be a betrayal of this oath. But there is no doubt—Fr. Baker assumes it as a fact—that these zealous young Englishmen had no intention of renouncing their vocation as missionaries when they put on the monastic habit. On the contrary, they hoped, as monks, to be of better service to their afflicted country. There were some enthusiasts who believed that the Benedictines only could bring England back to the Faith. From a scholastic point of view, it could certainly be maintained that their new vows cancelled their former oath. But neither they nor their Superiors had any desire to cry off from the missionary obligation. The great Congregations of Italy and Spain, both of them, were proud to be permitted to have a part in so noble a work as the re-conversion of Protestant England. But the permission of the Holy See was needed before the monk-missioners could leave their monasteries. And this, chiefly because the controversy between the Jesuits and the secular priests was not yet ended, was given with hesitation and obtained only with difficulty.

Fr. Baker's account of this transaction with the Holy See is a long and interesting one. It is written partly from memory; but though plentifully larded with parentheses such as "I think," "I conceive," "I assure myself," "it might be," there need be no uncertainty as to its accuracy. He is not a hesitating witness, but only a cautious one, anxious to be verbally exact. One who is accustomed to Fr. Baker's old-fashioned ways will know that such expressions mean no more than that he is not just then speaking from the book, with documents and proofs actually before him. He does not really mistrust his very excellent memory. He takes the pains to assure us that what he has written is "the certeine truth as to the substance of it." Here is a summary of the narrative:—

In 1594, the Cassinese authorities, in General Chapter, granted their English subjects permission to go on the English mission, as far as it was in their power to do so;—Dr. Owen Lewis, Bishop of Cassano * had urged this as a necessary preliminary step. Then, in 1599, “Cardinal Roctievile, a Polonian” at the instigation of Dom Anselm Beech, moved the Holy See in the matter, but the negotiations were dropped through his death. After some delay, a formal petition that the English monks might be allowed to leave their monasteries to devote themselves to the service of their countrymen was made to Pope Clement VIII by “some noblemen of England,” as Weldon says, and presented by Frederick Cardinal Borromeo in 1601.

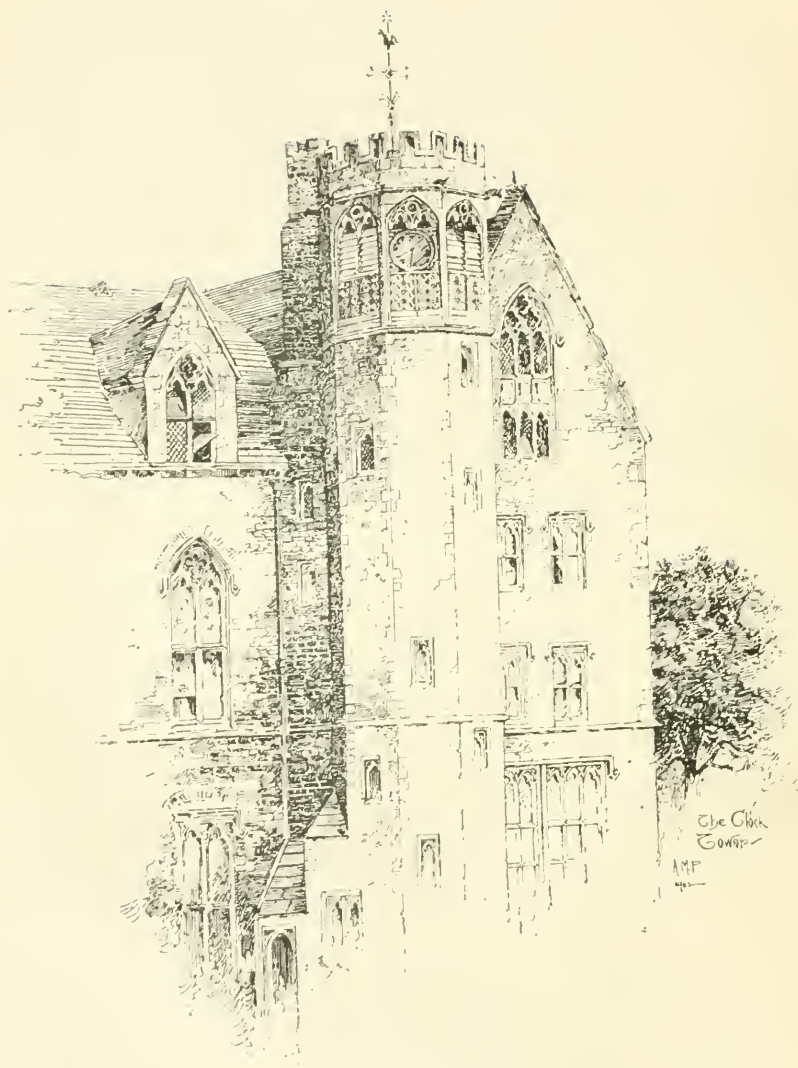
The substance of this petition is interesting. The first two arguments—the necessity for more missionaries and the “sufficiency and worthiness” of the English monks for the purpose—may be passed over as evident and of common understanding. The third, more pertinent to the occasion and more pertinent to our history, I give in Fr. Baker’s own words: “that never since the first conversion england had beene without some Preists both of the order and succession of those that so converted them, and that there was yet livinge and remaininge in England one of them (beinge fa: Sebert Bucley) the monke of Westminster to whom they, entringe in missionaries, might become united and aggregated, as he himselfe desired, hoped and dayly expected that they should, and thereby the old English Benedictine congregation would be kept ever alive and continued in those to be newly aggregated and their posterity; whereas otherwise it would cleane perish by the

* “A Northwales man,” says Fr. Baker, “a Doctor of the Civill Law, and who sometime had beene (if I be not deceaved) fellow of New Colledge in Oxford, and was a notable one amonge the thirty of the fellowes of that house who, in those times, one after another for Catholick Religions sake left the Colledge and went beyond seas.”

death of the said remaininge monke, who was now extreamly aged, and so could not live longe, but would die before these fathers could come in as missioners, if they came not in with the more speed. For which consideration the Petition was not only for the mission, but also for the greater speed in the grantinge of it."*

This petition was neither granted nor denied by the Holy Father. "It was put off from time to time with little or no satisfaction or minde-pleasure to the petitioner or petitioners." The solicitor of the business, "which might be Mr. Nicholas fitzherbert or some other," was cunning enough, however, to find a more personal argument which touched the Pope personally and, as Fr. Baker naively remarks, "lett him blood in the right veine." It was a perfectly innocent ruse, being nothing but an appeal to the Pope's love of his own family; but the good monk, in his desire to be duly reverent to the Holy Father, and yet to show his appreciation of its cleverness, is somewhat perplexed how to express himself. The consequence is that the humour of the situation—if there was any—is quite buried in the apologies made for everybody and everything. He says of the new reason that it was added "I know not whether I should say more wisely or more boldly, perhaps both wisely and boldly and freely." However, the result was that the Pope gave a verbal assent to the petition, but wished no action to be taken for awhile on account of "the pestilent division of minds" among the priests of the English Mission. Not until November 5th, 1602, when the two Congregations of Spain and Italy made

* Fr. Baker further adds—what the petitioners *may* have had in their minds "albeit perhaps it was not thought fittinge to expresse the same in the petition"—that by the said aggregation, through Fr. Buckley, "the whole and sole right of the English Benedictine Congregation, both as to howses, lands and rents, and also as to spirituall and temporall priviledges, exemptions and other commodities whatsoever perteininge to the said English Congregation" would be saved. As a lawyer this appealed strongly to Fr. Baker's mind.



further applications to Rome at the same time, each without the other's knowledge, was the matter settled. Then the Holy Inquisition published a decree giving the English monks permission to leave their monasteries for England.*

This was the first step towards the restoration of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation. And from Fr. Baker's statements, than which nothing could be more authoritative, two things are certain. First, that there was no chance or accident in the aggregation of Cassinese monks to Westminster Abbey. The English Cassinese Benedictines had nursed from the beginning the idea of establishing a purely English Congregation, connected with the old one through Fr. Buckley. Secondly, that, however Fr. Baker may have "mightily urged" this aggregation and helped in it with his legal knowledge, Fr. Serenus Cressy, in his *Life of Fr. Baker*, is wholly wrong in his assertion that the ex-lawyer originated the scheme. It had long been a matter of desire and anxiety to Fr. Sigebert Buckley. It had been discussed by Mr. Fitzherbert and the English Cassinese, some years before Fr. Baker was converted to the faith. This we have on his own authority. He says further that, as he understood, "the English Fathers of Italy had some little correspondence" with Fr. Buckley before their coming to England. If there was anything in the way of a discovery of the venerable Westminster monk, when Frs. Preston and Beech reached the English shores—such as is spoken of by Weldon—it must have been by industry and not by chance. Probably they knew pretty well where to find him; but at least they had left Italy to seek him.

* The formal concession of missionary faculties was dated March 20, 1603. (Reyner, *Apostolatus B.* Tract 2, p. 10.)

CHAPTER II.

The New English Benedictine Congregation.

OFTEN as it has been described, though it has since been made a frequent, almost an annual, occasion of sentimental oratory, there is a sterling dignity and simple pathos in the scene which took place in the Gatehouse at Westminster on November 21st, 1607, that cannot be wholly disfigured or defaced, and will never wear away. It is possible to make too much of it; it may be that too much has already been made of it; nevertheless, it remains, and will always remain, the most dramatic and significant event in English Benedictine history. The oldest, most venerated, noblest Order of monks, with its saintly traditions, its proud records, and its kingly possessions, had dwindled down to one feeble old man, blind with age, worn out with persecution and imprisonment, living on alms among heretics—a monk without a cloister and a brother without brethren: truly, it seemed as though the hand of the Lord had touched it and that its hours were numbered. But it was not death. “She is not dead but sleepeth.” It was no more than a trance, and the voice of God was even now summoning it to awake.

The Cassinese Fathers, Preston and Beech, came to England early in 1603,* and—whether by accident or design matters not—landed at Yarmouth, not many miles from

Fr. Taunton maintains that the Cassinese monks arrived in 1602. He relies for evidence of this on a letter from Fr. Rivers, S.J. to Fr. Parsons, S.J. which contains the statement “three workmen from monks’ residence are lately arrived here.” But is it not admitted that the Benedictines were not the first missionary monks to arrive in England?

Wymondham (Wendlam), near which, at Cisson, in the parish of Great Breccles, Fr. Buckley was dwelling at the time. The old monk had found shelter in the house of Mr. Francis Woodhouse. He had been released from confinement at Wisbeach on the accession of James I. After the two Cassinese had met him, so the record tells us, they supported and cared for their aged brother until his death some years later. Fr. Anselm Beech remained at Yarmouth all the winter.

So far all had worked out happily. But we have here to account for a seeming inconsistency on the part of the Cassinese Fathers. The urgency pleaded in the petition to Pope Clement—according to Fr. Baker, whose evidence cannot be called in question—did not seem to distress Frs. Preston and Beech, once they had Fr. Buckley in their keeping. Three years were suffered to pass by without any attempt, by a definite act, to secure the continuity of the old English Congregation. Was it that the idea of aggregation seemed to be of less importance now that it was easily possible to realize it? It cannot be pleaded that the urgency was less real or less evident. The two monks could not have shut their eyes to the fact that with every day of delay the frail life of the aged confessor grew more precarious. Neither can the waiting be rightly put down to the trouble and disturbance and persecution which arose out of the miserable Gunpowder Plot. That did not happen till 1605, and there is still the waste of two comparatively peaceful years to be accounted for. What is the meaning of this hesitation and delay?

The answer is simple enough and quite evident from what then* and afterwards took place. The idea of continuing the Abbey of Westminster by the infusion of younger blood may have been most admirable and most urgent, but the question was, how legally and satisfactorily

* There was correspondence, tedious at so great a distance, with the Cassinese Fathers and Chapter about the formalities to be observed.

to set about it? There was no settled precedent to serve as a guide. There was no recognized form or rite of aggregation. Hitherto, when a monk left one monastery or Congregation for another, it was sufficient for him to bring dimissorial letters from the one and to be welcomed by the other. It was an admitted principle of Canon Law that the authority and privileges, rights and commodities of a monastery or Congregation were vested in the survivor or survivors, but how to transfer these from monk to monk in such a way that the legality of the transaction could not be disputed? This was the difficulty the two Cassinese Benedictines had to solve. The old monk could give the habit to some young men and after a year's nominal noviciate could profess them; but would such a profession be valid as the law then stood? The situation was a new one, and as such it needed care; for whatever was done would be examined by skilled critics keen to detect a flaw or omission in the deed.*

Divine Providence sent the perplexed monks a young lawyer to help them in the business. This was David Baker, sometime Recorder of Abergavenny, who went to Italy in 1605 to become a Benedictine, and was hurried back just as his noviciate was completed. He, the "egregious legist," as Weldon calls him, was the man for the occasion. It is, without doubt, to Br. Augustine Baker that the credit is due for the excellent *lég*al precautions and the strict formalities that were observed on the occasion. As the result of his help and encouragement, action was taken and the affair so satisfactorily concluded that it has never seriously been called in question.

Just exactly what took place at the ceremony finally arranged we do not know; but we know enough. We are

* Perhaps an additional cause of delay was that Fr. Preston was in prison for a short time in 1603. The action finally taken by Frs. Preston and Beech has remained a standard precedent in Canonical Jurisprudence up to the present.

told that the old blind monk was in the Gatehouse of Westminster, a prisoner in a portion of his old Abbey. We know that a year previously Fr. Preston and Fr. Beech had given the habit to Robert Sadler and Edward Maihew respectively,—young secular priests who had been chosen to perpetuate the Old English Congregation.* We know, from Maihew himself, that the aged confessor, with his own infirm hands, clothed the two novices with the habit of the Old English Monks. But we are equally certain that it was Fr. Preston who received their vows, and that it was as young Cassinese monks they went through a ceremony of affiliation to Westminster.† A legal instrument of aggregation was signed at the time by Fr. Buckley and witnesses.

This is the bare account of what is recorded to have taken place on the 21st of November, 1607. The Cassinese General Chapter confirmed the aggregation in a formal document of the 5th of May, 1608,‡ and it received further approval, *viva voce*, from the Holy Father in a Consistory held on September 16th, 1609.§ At the suggestion of the Cassinese Chapter, to safeguard any possible informality, Fr. Maurus Taylor, another Cassinese monk, drew up, as a Public Notary, a second instrument, which was signed by Fr. Buckley on the 8th of November, 1609,|| in the House of Thomas Loveden at Punisholt or

It is generally said, on the authority of President Gregson's letter to Weldon, that Mr. Pitts (of whom more later) recommended Sadler and Maihew to the Cassinese Monks. There could, however, have been no need for the recommendation. The four priests were acquaintances or friends of old standing. We find, for instance, Fr. Beech and Fr. Maihew, then young students, travelling to Rome together in 1590. Record of English Catholics, Vol. II, p. 233.

† Maihew says "Sacerdotes illos, qui sub Congregatione Cassinensi professionem jam emiserant, suo Cenobio Westmonasteriensi aggregavit et incorporavit."

‡ Reyner, Apostolatus, Scriptura II.

§ Ibid, Scriptura III.

Ibid, Scriptura I.

Ponshelt. In December of the same year, the old Westminster monk resigned the government of the little English Congregation into the hands of Fr. Thomas Preston.* The ratification of this document has the signature also of a D. Augustine, either Baker or Smith. †

It will be clear that the actors in this memorable scene treated it simply and anxiously as a business transaction. It was no mere flourish of trumpets; its decorative effect was unpremeditated. We may believe that Fr. Buckley was no more, and no less, of course, a prisoner at the time than he had been at Cisson and was afterwards at Punisholt.‡ The Abbey Gatehouse had, we may think, been specially chosen for the ceremony; not, however, because of its sentimental appropriateness, but as an additional legal precaution—in order that the surviving Westminster monk might actually receive the two young Cassinese Benedictines within the gates of his own Abbey from the hands of the delegates of the Cassinese Congregation.§ For the rest, the event will always be a “*dies memorabilis*” from its picturesqueness as well as from its importance. The five actors met at the peril of their liberty, if not of their lives. Persecution was rife at the time, and the trysting place was within the walls of a prison whose gates at any moment might be shut upon them. The minds of all of them were exalted and their hearts were full; but there is no touch of extravagance in the old blind Father quoting at the end of the ceremony the words of Holy Simeon, “Now, O Lord, thou dost dismiss thy servant in peace, for mine eyes have seen Thy Salvation.” That the day should have been the anniver-

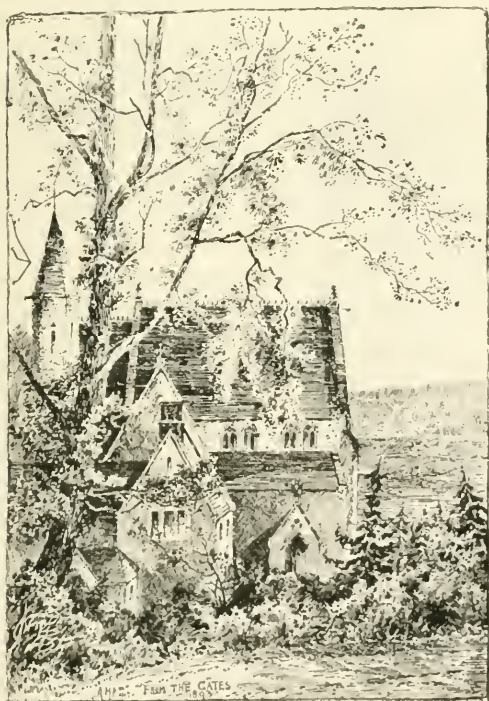
* Ibid, Scriptura IV. † Ibid, Scriptura V.

‡ Fr. Baker speaks of Fr. Buckley’s ‘lodging’ at this time, where he himself had an interview with him, as “St. Jhons his in London.”

§ There was a *John* Buckley a prisoner at the Gatehouse a little later, but he seems to have been alive the year after our *Robert* Buckley’s death, 1609-10. Calendar of State papers, 1611, Feb. 23rd.

sary of the formal restoration of Westminster Abbey in the days of Queen Mary was a happy coincidence that might well move the survivor to tears. And that, in the excitement of the moment, the spent eyesight of the octogenarian should have quickened into life for a brief while, to sink into complete darkness when the solemn act was over, may easily be believed.* It was an occasion when anything only a little short of a miracle might have been expected.

* "Mâii 18, 1597, rediit Parisiis præses noster Dñs D. Alanus . . . et cum his quidam senex *cæcus*, olim in Anglia Westmonasteriensis monachus." (Records of English Catholics, Vol. II.) There can be little doubt this was Fr. S. Buckley.

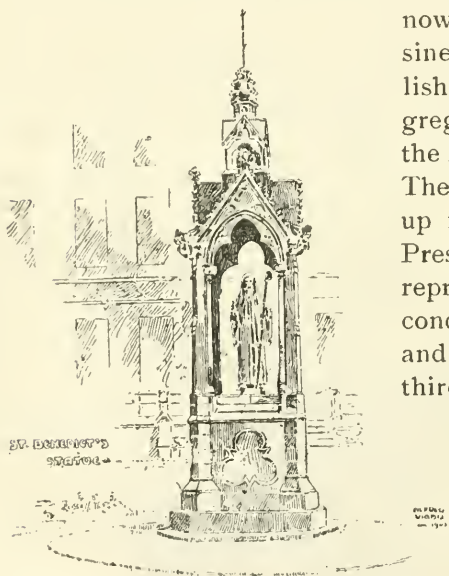


CHAPTER III.

Weakness in Division.

A CHAPTER treating of the bodies or parties of Benedictine English monks may very well begin with a personal account or estimate of the leaders of these parties. It has

been seen that there were now English of the Cassinese Congregation, English of the Spanish Congregation, and English of the Abbey of Westminster. The first may be summed up in the persons of Frs. Preston and Beech; the representatives of the second were Frs. Bradshaw and Leander Jones; the third consisted wholly, in the beginning, of Frs. Maihew, Sadler and Baker. Of each of these, their characters, their aspirations, and their acts,



a brief word.

Fr. Thomas Preston, as Superior of the Cis-alpine Cassinese monks and Deputy of Fr. Sigebert Buckley, claims first and chief recognition. He is one of those to whom scant justice has been done in the published records. An honest single-minded Englishman; a distinguished

student in the Roman College in his younger days ; a powerful controversialist and unwearied missionary in his manhood ; a venerable confessor, dying in his old age a prisoner for the Faith ; he is, nevertheless, one about whom some writers have written in a tone of apology, and others have treated with unfriendly suspicion. Even in his own day, he was spoken of as though he were two individuals—one Fr. Preston worthy of all praise ; the other Mr. Roger Widdrington, a notorious compounder with heresy. Here is a curious, inverted instance of this in a description of him given by John Gee, an apostate informer :* “ Preston, a Benedictine monke, a man who hath written very laboriously, both in Latin and English, in defence of the oath of allegiance and against the Pope’s usurped power over kings, in the name of Roger Widdrington. Though he be happy in his discourse, and potent in the nerves of his unanswerable arguments, yet hee was unhappy in his casual choice of that name, which, to conceale his owne, he chose to prefix upon his booke ; the said Roger Widdrington being a man (as is thought) not much favouring those tenets, wherewith his name was unworthily honoured. Sure am I that in the North parts where hee liveth, he hath by one engine or another of late seduced great multitudes to Popery and carryeth so strong a hand in that country, that he that would oppose him should finde it a hard taske. As for Fr. Preston hee is a man much hated and persecuted by the Jesuiticall faction, who would fain send him to Rome in a cloake-bag. I heere he is a man of weake and sickly disposition of body, not likely long to live. His physicians tell him that if hee change aire, the city and suburbs of Rome are very unwholesome for him, especially the stifling aire of that part of Rome, which is neere the *Holy House* or *Inquisition*.” An interesting estimate of an interesting character, and wholly flattering, if we are permitted to recognize in

Fr. Preston, the writer and Roger Widdrington the missionary one and the same person.* The much-abused part Fr. Preston took in the matter of the oath of allegiance, when rightly explained, was one he had no need—as he himself felt and said—to disguise or be ashamed of, and one we English Benedictines need not fear to throw open to the light of day.

It is somewhat of a digression, but it would be unfair to Fr. Preston, having mentioned the matter, not to say more. Fr. Leander, also, has been blamed for having sided with the Cassinese missionary, and with two such representative Benedictines mixed up in the affair, it had and has some Congregational importance.† Some day, no doubt, the documents connected with it—they are nearly all in existence—will be published. Meanwhile, the following statement may be of service.

In the first place, it should be clearly understood that the oath was not, in any respect, the one for the refusal of which the Blessed Sir Thomas More and Fisher went to the scaffold. It was not an oath admitting or protesting the supremacy of the King in spiritual matters. It had to do only with the personal allegiance of Catholics to King James. Moreover, an attempt had been made to consult the consciences of Catholics by the appointment of a Jesuit, Sir Christopher Parkins, as one of the two commissioners

* Fr. Taunton has unravelled the separate identities of Preston and Widdrington in the *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1903. But it is quite certain that Preston did masquerade as Roger Widdrington. The real Roger Widdrington acknowledged the books written in his name, but there can be no doubt that the Roger Widdrington who had the interview with Fr. Courtenay, S.J., was Fr. Preston, and very little doubt that the Widdrington correspondence in the Rawlinson MSS. is Preston's also. There was quite as much confusion about identities when both Preston and Widdrington were living. Fr. Leander himself was puzzled to know how much of Roger Widdrington was Fr. Preston and how much of Preston Widdrington.

† The Venerable John Roberts held the same view of the oath as Frs. Preston and Leander, though he died rather than take it himself.

to draft it.* In fact the whole circumstances of the framing of the oath were such that a good Catholic, loyal also to his country, would question himself seriously whether his conscience would not permit him to accept it.

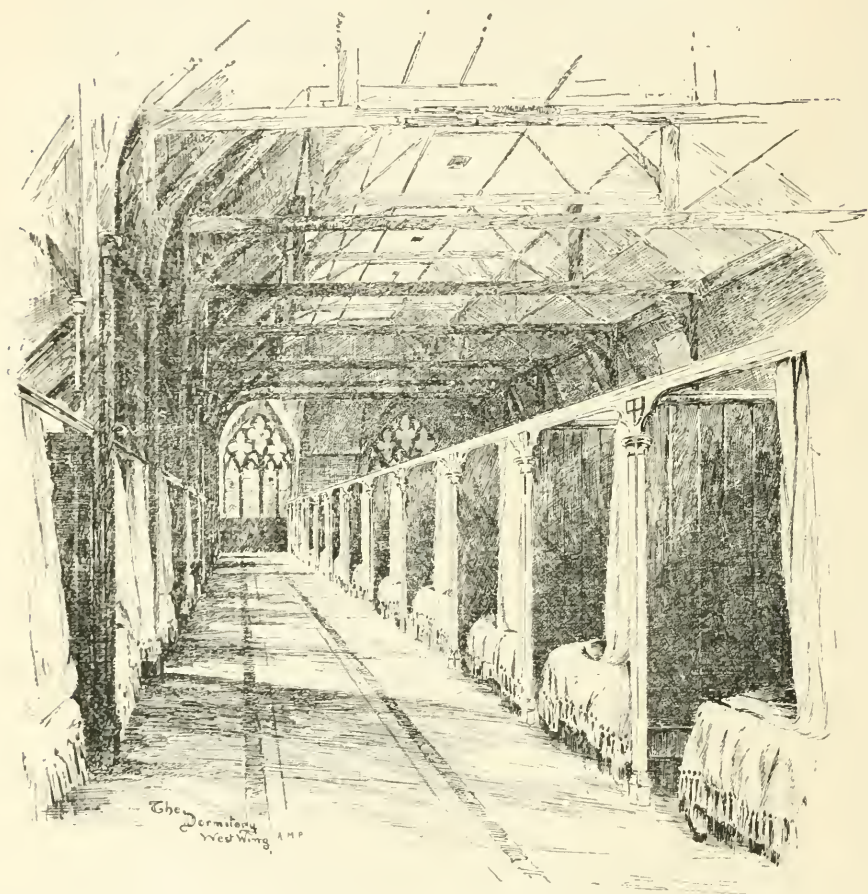
This was what Fr. Preston did. At first he condemned the oath as offensive to the Catholic conscience. He was one of the six priests summoned by the Arch-priest Blackwell to discuss the matter in the first instance (1606). Then he sided with Fr. Holt, Superior of the Jesuits, and Fr. Mush, who condemned the oath, against the Arch-priest and the other two, William Bishop, afterwards Vicar Apostolic, and Richard Broughton, Vicar General of the North of England, who were in its favour. Later, when it was found impossible to obtain from the Holy See a declaration of what could be admitted by Catholics and what should be refused, he argued that there was a construction of its meaning which would permit Catholics in their extremity to take it. At no time did he urge and defend it as unobjectionable and just. We have Fr. Leander's assertion that he refused to acknowledge, in fact publicly repudiated, the authorship of the books written in Roger Widdrington's name.† Something he wrote and published but what exactly we do not know. What we do know is that he argued the matter, from a purely scholastic point of view, in word and by letter, with Fr. Courtenay (Leedes), Provincial of the Jesuits, then in prison at the Gatehouse. His letters and the account of the interview are still in existence, and are not in any way to his discredit.

The one really objectionable sentence in the oath was "I from my heart abhor, detest and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position that Princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may

* The other was Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury.

† *Libellos Widdringtoni, quos adeo non suos agnoscit dictus Pater, ut publico scripto nos propterea reprehenderit, quod eum libellorum illorum autorem nominaverimus.* Apostolatus, Tract 2, p. 24.

be deposed and murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever." This is offensive enough in expression, and was so recognized by Fr. Preston. But, as he said, it did



not touch a defined article of Faith. Moreover, it was not to be considered a general proposition, but as having reference to the deponibility—which was not claimed by the Holy See—of James I of England. The word ‘murder’

was understood and intended in its strictest sense of private assassination. Also, Fr. Preston urged that the epithets "impious," "heretical," and "damnable" might be distributed to one's fancy between deponibility and the right to murder, and could be looked upon as King James's description of the doctrine, not that of the Catholic who swore to it. This may seem a somewhat strained interpretation of the words, but it is not wholly indefensible, and it was held that one may stretch a point, not of Faith, in a matter of life and death.

This, of course, is not written as a modern defence of the oath. Neither is it a defence of the English Benedictines, who were not all, nor even the majority of them, in agreement with Frs. Preston and Leander. Fr. Serenus Cressy published an exhaustive argument against the oath. What has been said is intended only to clear the character of one who died a Confessor of the Faith in the Clinch prison. Fr. Preston is reported to have afterwards retracted his opinions,* but whether he did so or not he was a faithful son of the Church. When he heard that his action was strongly condemned by Cardinal Bellarmine and others at Rome, he wrote: "If His Holiness and they (who were offended with him) would make known to me any one thing, either against faith or good manners, contained in any book whereof they suspected me to be the author, I would forthwith retract the same."†

Fr. Anselm Beech, Fr. Preston's companion and helpmate, was an able man, whom everybody esteemed, whose advice was helpful and much sought after, but who figures in our Benedictine annals somewhat as a failure. We shall see more of this in a later chapter of this history. For the present let Fr. A. Baker's estimate of him suffice.

* There is no possibility of doubt that he did take the oath himself. It is evidence that he afterwards repudiated the act that he died in prison.

† Records, S.J. Vol. 1, p. 257.

He was "a grave, judicious, and stayed man, and had beene (if my memory do not the more deceave me in it) a maister of art in Cambridge." "I never knew any man in Mission, whom for my part I should have judged fitter for the Mission than he was, all qualities considered, nor do I know any man that succeeded better for the good of others for the time he was there." Unfortunately, he was there only four years, and the rest of his life was spent in Italy, acting as an agent and representative of a portion of his English brethren.

A man of less distinction but of greater merit, who was the founder of St. Gregory's and St. Lawrence's, and was helpful in the establishment of Chelles and St. Edmund's at Paris, the man who most nearly deserves the reputation of being the maker of the English Benedictine Congregation, though in its actual construction he took no part, was Fr. Augustine Bradshaw, alias White. According to Fr. Baker, he was in the "learninge gotten by humane and naturall industry esteemed to be unlearned." But he was a man of some aptitude for business, and of undoubted energy and courage. A more judicious and staid man would probably have hesitated to undertake what Fr. Bradshaw successfully accomplished. His history is a curious contrast to that of Fr. Anselm Beech. The latter sat down to consider ways and means, to plot and calculate and look into the future; he built as he thought on the rock, and the tempest came and mocked at his precautions. Fr. Bradshaw was one of those who when they have insufficient subjects for one monastery begin two, and when they have means of support for half a dozen monks cheerfully undertake to supply for twenty. But there was always a blessing on his work.

With him Fr. Leander Jones, otherwise Leander of St. Martin, will always and rightly be associated. They were more nearly rivals than helpmates, men of wholly different characters and education and ideas. It is doubtful if Fr.

Leander had the initiative of Fr. Bradshaw, but he equalled him in courage and ably continued what his predecessor had begun. He was an Oxford scholar, distinguished for proficiency in Oriental languages. Perhaps he may be best described as a man eminent for his honesty among a number of men who were all of them honest and honourable. He could admit the justice of an argument, even when it cut his own position from beneath his feet, and could admire an adversary's virtues even when most angry with him. He was a little hasty in his judgments, but then he was nearly as quick to change them when discredited. For this reason he has laid himself open to be quoted against himself. To sum up, he was a warm-hearted and loyal monk, loyal to the Spanish Congregation, loyal equally to his English brethren, and loyal to his friends.

It would be unfair to Laurentians of such note as Fr. Maihew and Fr. Augustine Baker to dismiss them with the few words that can be given them in this chapter. Some notice has been taken of them already—enough to introduce them to the reader. Better justice will be done them later. Robert Sadler, afterwards Fr. Vincent, a Laurentian of hardly less distinction, because of the peacefulness of his life and disposition, may be dealt with in a few words. He with Maihew and Baker were the only monks aggregated to Westminster by Fr. Buckley in person.* He was born at Collier's Oak in Warwickshire and was a connexion and godchild of Sir W. Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer under Elizabeth. Pope Paul V ordained him in Rome and sent him on the English Mission. He was

* Fr Baker speaks positively as to this. Weldon's twelve monks so aggregated must be considered mythical. There were some afterwards aggregated by Fr. Preston, but probably the mistake arose out of one of the articles of Fr. Leander's scheme of Union, which provided for twelve monks affiliated to the Old English Congregation. When the scheme was temporarily accepted, the 'English,' as they have been called, will have had their numbers made up to twelve.

affiliated to St. Lawrence's at the time of the Leander Union. The Old English Congregation elected him its President in 1616. He was one of the nine definitors who drew up the final Union which established the present English Benedictine Congregation. Afterwards he was first Provincial of Canterbury, and Provincial elect of York. He died "*maxima sanctitatis opinione post se relicta*" on his way to the First General Chapter in June 1621.

The reader will see clearly that there were three bodies of Benedictine English monks, with able, good, strong men at their head. All were bound to their own Congregation by the Benedictine vow of stability—"perpetuam inclusionem in Congregatione Valesolitana" are the words of the Spanish form of profession. It may be granted that union was desirable; but it was possible only by something savouring of disloyalty to the several Congregations of Profession. Divided interests also stood in the way—some of them important and all of them honourable. The little body of Westminster monks hoped to save their country by a revival of the glories of the Old Congregation, whose preservation they looked upon as a direct act of Divine Providence. The English Cassinese hoped that God would find in them worthy successors of St. Augustine and his companions, and bless their work as He had blessed the mission sent by St. Gregory the Great. Those of the Spanish profession had already, when there was common talk of union, a past which justified the noblest hopes of the future. They had sent martyrs to the scaffold. In the venerable John Roberts and Mark Barkworth, they had ancestors beyond whom they did not need to trace their origin. They were already a numerous progeny. And it was to Spain that so many people in those days looked for the reconversion of England to the Faith.

How were the three parties to be brought into union? They were each of them, now, in that youthful, plastic

state when it was possible to mould them at will, when they could mingle and coalesce into an organic whole. At a later stage of development this might not be so easily done; then, union might mean no more than the binding of fascies with a cord, or the gathering of arrows in a quiver. How were they to come together and so to make a beginning of union? Not on the English mission; there they would be scattered units, each busy with his own apostolic work. Not in their own houses; for one party had its home in Spain, another in Italy, whilst the Westminster monks were vagrants, without a roof of their own. Divine Providence had decreed they were to be brought together through a ruined, deserted monastery in Lorraine. This was given into the hands of the Spanish monks, but not for themselves only; it was for all and any English Benedictines whosoever and whatsoever they might be. By the deed of gift, it belonged to the three parties collectively and to none individually. The Spanish monks held it first; then it was seized by Fr. Preston, the Cassinese Superior; afterwards it passed into the keeping of the Westminster monks; later it belonged to the three parties conjointly; finally it was the proud possession of the one perfected, solidified, English Benedictine Congregation. This was the monastery of St. Lawrence at Dieulouard.





CHAPTER IV.

Dieulouard.

A LOW hill, covered mostly with coppice but with some patches of grey precipitous rock, stretched like the string of a bow across one side of a broad flat valley, where the Moselle, after struggling through the hills at the south, makes a lazy curve through the meadows before it slips between the hills at the opposite corner—this is the hill of Gellamont, the site of Dieulouard. The white road from Toul to Metz skirts the hill at its base, and a branch of the Moselle—once the main stream—runs parallel to the road from corner to corner, converting the half of the valley into an island. The village on the hill side looks like a mass of purple-brown roofs, with a shapeless castle, not unlike the flat face of a rock in their midst, and a church tower and spire rising out of the trees on the summit of the hill. It is a typical Lorraine site, so typical that it is hardly distinguishable from half-a-dozen other villages

which the traveller may see when journeying through the district. But it is a village with a somewhat distinguished history, and it can trace its pedigree back to the days of the Romans.

In those days it was a place of considerable importance. There was a camp or castrum on the hill commanding the road at its foot, and a considerable town, Scarpone, on the banks of the Moselle, about the bridge over which the high road runs to Strasburg. The great hero of the neighbourhood was and is the Emperor Constantine. He is said to have introduced Christianity into Scarpone and to have built a church there dedicated to St. George.* Some historians have believed that the valley was the scene of the apparition of the Labarum, when Constantine was on his way to meet the Emperor Maxentius in battle. There is no evidence whatever to support this, though there is a fact which may be thought to suggest it. Until very recent times, there was at Scarpone a great Roman obelisk, crowned with a rayed cross—"semblable à une petite roue de carosse"—adorned with bas-reliefs commemorating the defeat of Maxentius and the triumphal entry of Constantine into Trèves.

The second of the Dieulouard heroes is the Emperor Charlemagne who made of Scarpone one of his royal residences. During his time, Scarpone became the capital of a large district or county to which it gave its name: "C'est lui, dit-on encore, qui planta les vignes appelées Charlemagne, au pied de la côte de Cuite." †

Another great name with which Dieulouard is proud to be connected is that of Joan of Arc. Her visit to the village on her way to Nancy, to pray, it is supposed, at the pilgrimage shrine of Notre Dame des Grottes in the church of St. Lawrence, is recorded in a contemporary deed,‡ by which the community of Dieuleward gave

§ Le Bonnetier.

† Notice Historique sur Scarpone et Dieulouard, p. 20.

‡ Archives Départementales, Série G. No. 504.

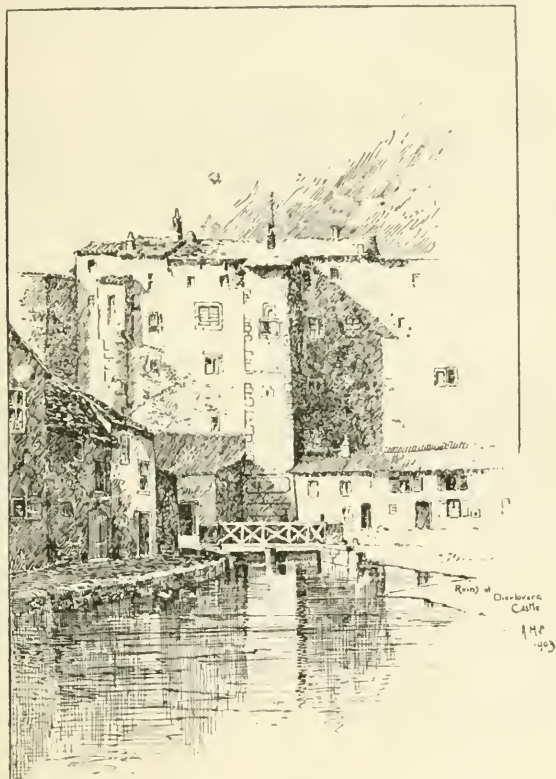
certain rights in perpetuity to "Messire Jehan Collier curé-doyen de Dieulewart," and his successors, in return for the hospitality and generosity he showed to the saintly heroine.

Scarpone seems to have been continually in the wars. Fifty years after Constantine, it was the scene of a notable defeat of the Alemanni by the Romans under Jovinus; it was besieged by Attila, unsuccessfully, in 451; it was pillaged more than once by the Normans; the Huns attacked it a second time in 954; and finally, the Germans, under Conrad II, took it by assault, set it on fire, and stamped it out of existence in 1007. From that date to the present time, a tiny hamlet, dependent on Dieulouard, called Xerpanne, Charpeigne or Charpagne, has kept alive the memory of the great Roman city.

Dieulouard has a name in history from about ten years before the destruction of Scarpone. In 997, Count Frederick, son and successor of Godfrey the Prisoner, left the world to become a monk in the Abbey of St. Vanne at Verdun. He retained the rule of his territory until his death, but made over his estates entire to his great friend Heymo or Heimon, the Bishop of Verdun, to belong absolutely to him and his successors. The Emperor, Otho III, as suzerain gave his consent to this. Heymo's first act when visiting the domain of Scarpone—part of the bequest—was to make a village out of the hamlet which had grown up around the fortress on Gellamont, and to give a name to it. Thinking of its distance from the episcopal residence at Verdun and his consequent inability to protect it, he is said to have stretched his hands over it in benediction, saying "Dieu-le-wart," God guard it. "Voilà," says Le Bonnetier, "tout le mystère du nom de Dieulouard."*

* Notice Historique, p. 27. The historian gives the following variations of the name: Dieu-le-wart in 997; Deoulwart in 1089; Delwart in 1176; Deulewart in 1323; Dieulouart in 1363; Dieuleward in 1482; Dieulouard. These are from official documents and their number might be doubled or trebled from the same source.

It was in the same year, 997, that Dudon, son of a rich merchant of Verdun who had bought estates and settled down at Dieulouard, began the building and foundation of the monastery and church of St. Lawrence.* He had



taken the habit in the Collegiate house of Montfaucon-d'Argonne, and was at the time its provost, and also primicier (primus in cera, president of the choir) in the Cathedral of Verdun. The canons of Montfaucon were already in possession of Gellamont; they had succeeded

* Mabillon's version of the foundation, attributing it to Heymo, is rejected by Calmet, Melnotte and the later historians.

some Benedictines in the old monastery and church of St. Romanus. Of these Benedictines there is little known beyond the fact that they had lived at Gellamont for an unknown length of time, that their church was dedicated to St. Romanus, and that on their removal to Morey, where they built themselves a monastery on the site of an old castle, they exchanged their convent at Dieulouard, with the Montfaucon Canons, for some lands on the banks of the Rhine. Dudon, when he came into the property of his father at his death, thought he could not do anything better with it than build a new convent and church at Dieulouard and endow it for the benefit of his Order. Hence the College and Church of St. Lawrence. The work was completed, and the church consecrated by the Bishop of Toul, in 1020. Dudon also built the castle, with a chapel dedicated to St. Sebastian attached to it, to provide an asylum and protection for the Canons in time of danger.

The foundation of the Canonry was confirmed by Conrad II, "the invincible Emperor of the Romans," as he styles himself, in 1028. In the deed of confirmation the monastery is said to have been built, not *by* Heymo, as Mabillon says, but *under* Heymo of happy memory.* "But since," it says, "this monastery is erected on land belonging to the Collegiate house of Montfaucon-d'Argonne, Dudon, the author and owner of the monastery of St. Lawrence, has demanded that the clerics living there and performing the Divine Office should acknowledge the Bishop of Verdun as their temporal Lord and the Bishop of Toul as their true pastor: we have so ordained it." Dudon received a ninth portion of the tithes during his lifetime.

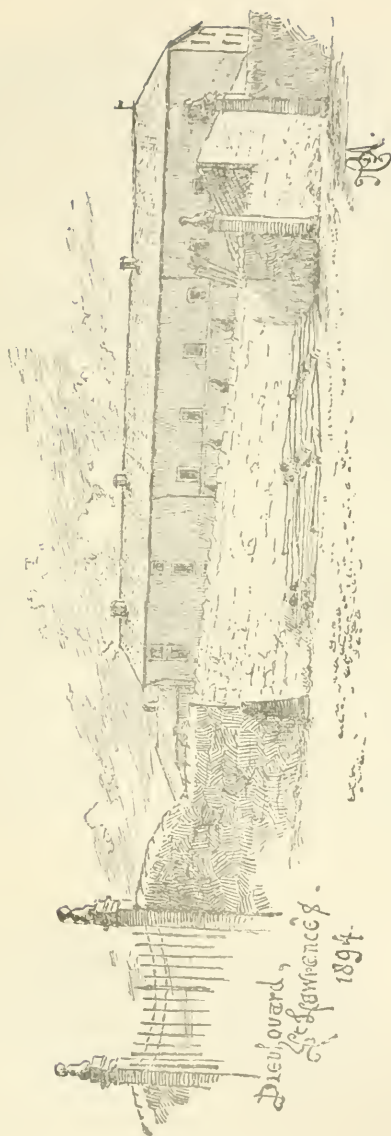
With the history of the College of Canons,† which existed from its foundation by Dudon until 1602, we have

Notice Historique, p. 30.

* The Montfaucon Canons transferred the Dieulouard Canonry to the Bishop in exchange for three churches: Fromeréville, Bételainville and Monthairons in 1176. It became then a College of Secular Canons.



Church
Tower
A.P. 1902.



Dieu, ouard,
St. Lawrence,
1894.

little to do. It never ranked as an important establishment, and received little notice until its wealth and comparative inutility marked it out for suppression. The original foundation was for a dean and four canons (afterwards six) with the addition of two prebends; and later, on the suppression of the prebendaries by Pius II, four vicars, to help the canons to fulfil their numerous mass and choir obligations. It so remained to the end. Once, for a very short period, it ceased to exist. Pope Callixtus III, at the demand of the Duke of Lorraine, merged it in the sister house of St. Croix at Pont-à-Mousson. The two elements, however, refused to mingle, and one day the Dieulouard branch was discovered to have slipped back, without warning, into its old bed. After some litigation it was permitted to remain there. Twice, also, war reduced the establishment to the brink of ruin. In the war between René II and Charles the Bold, the land was laid waste, the convent was sacked, and the two churches wrecked; in a later year the village and country side was devastated by Huguenots. Relief came to the monastery on both occasions through the famous relics of "Monseigneur St. Sébastien de Dieulouard," which the canons obtained permission to carry in procession throughout the country. Except for these incidents, the annals of the Collegiate house are mostly made up of a gradual but not exceptional increase of landed and other property.

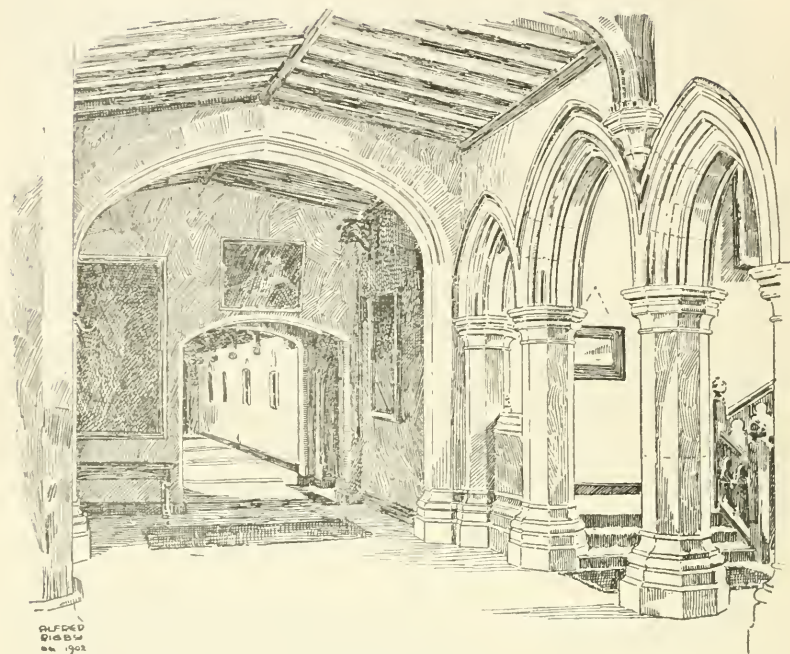
Before taking leave of the Canons, a word as to the ecclesiastical status of Dieulouard in those days. At first, St. Lawrence's was the Parochial church, and the Dean was the parish priest. In the 14th century, the canons claimed equal parochial authority with him, but decision was given against them in 1325 and 1329. But in 1481, Jean Mengin, the Dean, with the Papal sanction, made the Castle chapel into a parish church, and at the same time rebuilt it from the ground. It was he also who erected the great Confraternity of St. Sebastian, not, how-

ever, in his new church of St. Sebastian; but in the old church of St. Lawrence. There the famous relics were kept until the suppression of the Canonry in 1602. Then, Dom Calmet tells us, these relics, or the major part of them, were removed to the church of St. Sebastian at Nancy, which had been built as a provisional Primatial church. There they still remain.

In 1602, came the dissolution of the old College House. Nancy had been for a long period the Capital of the Duchy or Kingdom of Lorraine, and Charles III determined to make it not only the seat of a bishopric but a Primatial See. For this purpose money and endowments were required. By virtue of a Bull of Pope Clement VIII, 15th of March, 1602, the Abbey of St. Martin at Metz, the Priories of Stenay, Salome, St. Nicholas-de-Port, and the Chapters of St. Dié and Dieulouard were suppressed to furnish the needful supplies. The Cathedral Chapter took possession of the lands, rents, interests and revenues of the old Collegiate House at Dieulouard on December 11th, 1603. Three years later the canonical residences were sold to defray the expense of housing the Canons at Nancy. Here, therefore, was an empty cloister and church, thrown on one side as useless, at the very moment some of the English Benedictines were looking for a home.



ARMS OF TOWN, 997. ARMS OF BENEDICTINES. ARMS OF PROVOST ARMS OF TOWN, LOUIXIV.



CHAPTER V.

The Gift of Dieulouard.

THE one thing necessary for the reader, and the writer also, to be clearly certain of and always to remember, in treating of the transfer of St. Lawrence's to the English Benedictines, is the impossibility—no weaker word would be just to the high and blameless character of the parties concerned—of any shiftiness, craft or underhand dealing in the business. The misunderstandings which resulted were only such as were possible between perfectly honourable men. Not only should we believe that each party had reason to consider itself in the right, but we should admit beforehand that it was right from its own point of view. Our sympathies may be distributed unevenly

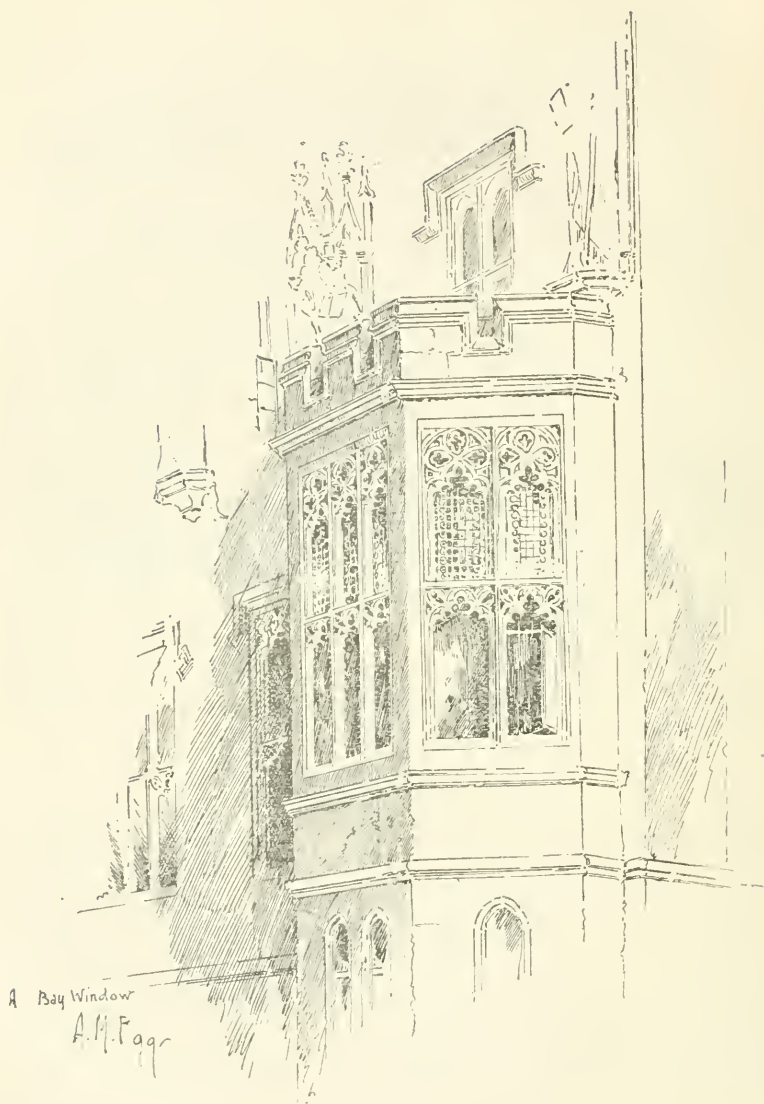
—no one can be surprised at that—but we should do wrong to put blame on those whose standpoint is not the same as ours, and whose ideas and aspirations do not appeal to us.

Nothing could be simpler than the transaction as it actually took place. It was merely the legal conveyance of a certain property from one party to another—an everyday piece of work; but one which has furnished employment to law courts from time immemorial. In this case it was a free gift, and not a matter of barter and exchange—a fact which made the legal formalities simpler still, but which greatly increased the possibility of misunderstanding and mistake. In such transfers all that is needful is for the grantors to hand over to the grantees a deed of conveyance or title to the property, and put them in possession. This is exactly what was done. A deed of gift was handed to Fr. Bradshaw, Vicar General of the Spanish Benedictines, by the Primatial Chapter of Nancy, dated December 2nd, 1606. As temporal lord, Eric, Bishop and Count of Verdun, confirmed the gift in a document of December 5th of the same year. Fr. Bradshaw gave Mr. Pitts,* an English secular priest, a power of attorney to take possession of the place on the same day, and he entered on the property the day after Christmas, 1606.

To whom were the Benedictines chiefly indebted for this gift? There is little doubt that it is Mr. Pitts whom St. Lawrence's should venerate as their first great benefactor. We have his own declaration that he procured the gift of it. Weldon simply says that Fr. Bradshaw, then at Douai, seeking for a secure foothold for the English Benedictines, happened to hear of the place and made all interest he could to obtain it. Another account (also in Weldon) says that the Vicar had intelligence of it from Rheims, where Fr. Gifford and Fr. Leander were at the time.† But it is

* This name is spelt in old documents Pits, Pitts and Pitz. I have made use of the commonest English spelling of the word.

† The Dictionary of National Biography says that Gifford procured it for the Benedictines.



A Bay Window

A.M. Page

quite probable that the Rheims intelligence had come from Mr. Pitts. He was in the way to know all about it, as well as in a position to secure the gift of it. Mr. Pitts, after imprisonment in the Tower, was banished from the English Mission under penalty of death in 1585. He found occupation as Chaplain* and Theologal of the Abbey of Noble Dames at Remiremont, a small town on the Moselle where it debouches from the Vosges mountains. He was, therefore, in the province of the new Primatial See. He must have had personal knowledge of St. Dié in his immediate neighbourhood, whose Chapter had also been suppressed. Out of the six empty monastic houses, it was he, probably, who chose Dieulouard as best situated for English Benedictine purposes.† It is true his words "I, whoe by divers reasons procured the said guifte" may mean no more than that he acted as intermediary in the business. But it is more likely to mean that the transaction both began and ended with him.

The ease and rapidity with which the affair was entered upon and completed was probably due to Mr. Pitts' intimate acquaintance with the Prince-Bishop Charles, first Primate of Nancy, and also to the fact that Eric, or Erric, Hierosme, the Count-Bishop of Verdun—of a Dieulouard family—had taken up his ordinary residence in the Castle there. Fr. Bradshaw and Mr. Pitts may have met the Bishop of Verdun at Dieulouard itself and obtained on the spot the final authorizations needed. The Bishop had added a new tower to the old Castle, and had made additions to it—a private Chapel, a muniment room for his archives, and a mint,—the money from which was so bad that Henry II of Lorraine forbade its circulation in his principedom.

* 'Canon' he is also called. He went to Remiremont in March, 1590.

† Dr. Gifford must also have had some personal acquaintance with the place through passing it on his way from Rheims to Pont-à-Mousson.

A question arises here—which may have been made too much of in the olden days—What were the conditions of the gift? The donors at Nancy say that the donation was made “*cum certis conditionibus modo et forma tum expressis.*” Weldon says: “Mr. Pitts in his Act adds that the Very Reverend FF. Austin Bradshaw and Leander of St. Martin had promised him in their letters to him (the better to move his charity in this affair) that Dieulwart should be the head of the English Congregation and the chief residence of the President General thereof, an article agreed to by the said two RR. Fathers upon several other occasions as their letters still extant at Dieulwart make appear.*

This “Act” does not seem to be in existence now, nor, perhaps, is it of any consequence whether it is or not. It is quite a question whether F^{rs}. Bradshaw and Leander had any authority to make promises for a Congregation which did not yet exist. It may also be taken as certain that the “English Congregation,” in the minds of both parties to the contract, was to be developed out of the English of the Spanish profession. There was no question then of any other Benedictines. In 1606 there was only one purely English Benedictine monk, and that was Fr. Sigebert Buckley. The Cassinese had not yet come into the field of vision. Mr. Pitts says in his letter of October 12th, 1609,† “I had no notice at al of the Italiens at that time.” Whatever visions of English houses and English monks he may have had—it is the fact that he had some and that the Vicar-General shared in them—it must be acknowledged there was then no thought or question, with either party, of any but the subjects of Fr. Bradshaw. We have Mr. Pitts’ own words saying so: “The tenor of

* Weldon pp. 66 and 67. The printed Chronological Notes has “Mr. Pitts in his acts,” but in Weldon’s Collections and also in the Ampleforth MS. it is ‘Act.’

† Archives Départementales, Série H.

the guifte was onlie for those of Valladolid," . . .
"with you (Fr. Bradshaw) onlie I had dealt in that matter, and by you with your superiors; and especialie that my intention was to solage those of Spayne, whoe eyther by want of health and condition of the heats of that countrie should neede a more moderate ayre."

At the same time, it is necessary, in order to safeguard Mr. Pitts' character for honesty, to point out that these words of his just quoted give additional proof, if any were needed, that he and the Spanish Vicar-General had talked over the need of some sort of independence, or separation from the Spanish Congregation. We have a clear indication why Fr. Bradshaw should have been anxious to bring about a change of some kind. The Spanish monasteries were unhealthy for the young English monks. A passage in the scurrilous *Running Register* emphasizes the words of Mr. Pitts: "The English Students of these former Colledges (notwithstanding the oath of obedience, as they termed it) ranne away (like so many sheepe to the water) to bee Monks. Yea, many Scholars and gentlemen . . . rid Post from England thither to weare Saint Bennet's Cowle. But, see the spite! they dyed like so many rotten sheepe, and those that scaped, had not their healths, by reason of the unwholesomenesse of the ayre, and that they did not like so well of the fashion and Condition of the Spaniards, or of their dyet." To sum up, the gift, though made to Fr. Bradshaw and his monks, was made to them not as monks of the Spanish profession, but as a nucleus of an independent English Benedictine Congregation. As will become plainer later, the monastery was not to be Spanish in any way—not even under the jurisdiction of the Spanish General or his deputies. And it was to be so English that no Benedictine monk of English birth could be denied the right to dwell in it. The Lorraine authorities were as anxious not to benefit Spain and the Spanish, as they were willing to help the English.

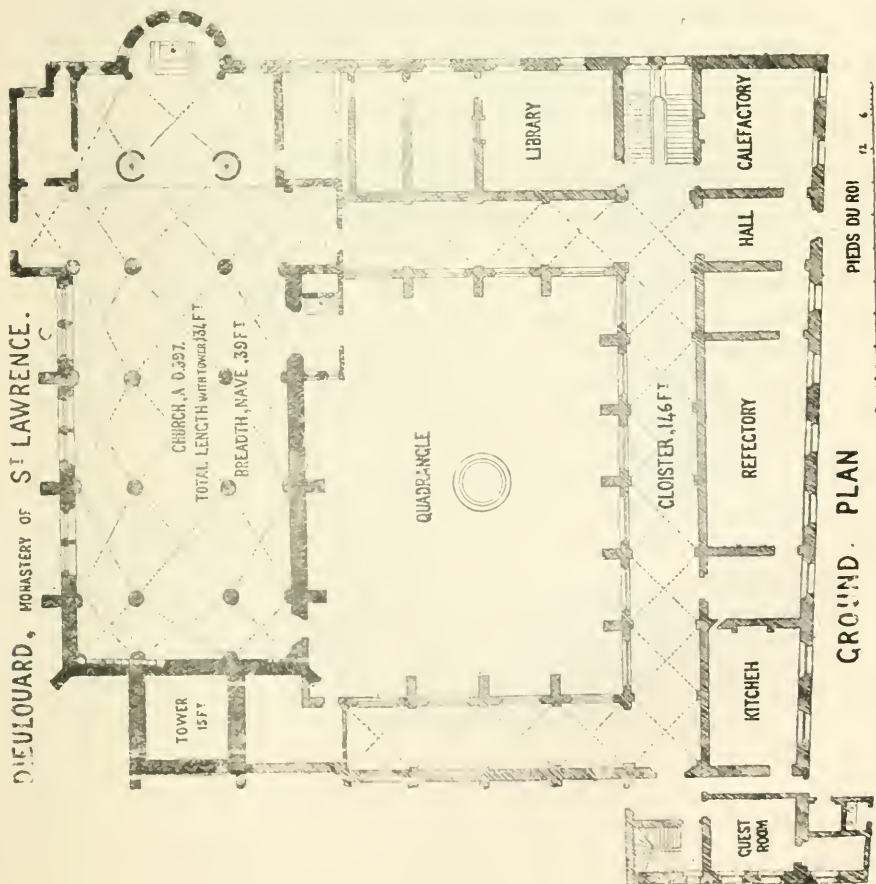
Its charter was so drawn up as to secure it from the control of any existing Congregation, whether French, Spanish, or Italian. From the very beginning, therefore, the gift of Dieulouard urged, almost forced, the various English monks to a union with each other and a praiseworthy independence of foreign rule.

It is time, now, to look the gift-horse in the mouth. What exactly was the "ancient church of St. Lawrence with its bells, ornaments and furniture, with house and garden and dependencies?" It was just what our Fathers were seeking, and for that reason they were grateful for its acquisition. But, reading the inventory or inventories that have come down to us, we find that it meant no more than the skeleton of a church and the broken bones of a monastery. The bells were in the tower, but the ornaments and furniture consisted wholly and entirely of a few benches without backs in the nave.* Possibly there was something in the shape of fixed choir-stalls, but all the altar and chapel fittings, and all vestments, sacred vessels, linen, pictures, and movables of every sort had been carted away to Nancy. For four years the church had been used as a stable. As to the monastery, the Abbé Melnotte asserts that the cloistral buildings had not been in use since the 13th century. It is certain the Canons were living in separate private dwellings at the time of their removal. Their houses are easy distinguishable yet, "entre cour et jardin," with a niche for a statue over the doors. Further, the 'garden' spoken of was just the quadrangle and nothing more. We are told that there were huts and sheds in the quadrangle, built up against the church and east cloister. These were the 'house and dependencies.'

The church deserves a full description, and this we have in some architect's plans preserved in the Archives Départementales, and in the auctioneer's description prepared for the great sale at the French Revolution. This

* Archives Départementales.

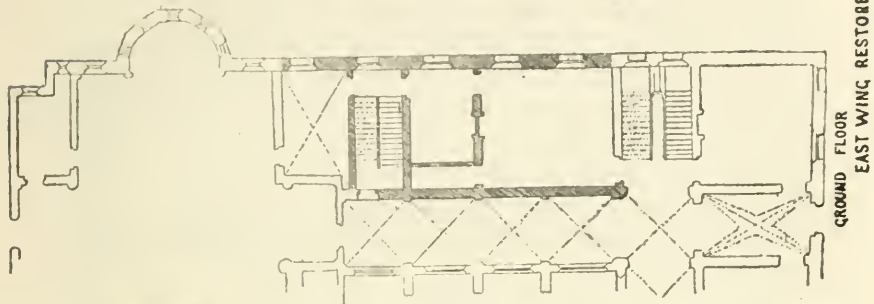
DIEULOUARD, MONASTERY OF ST LAWRENCE.



GROUND PLAN

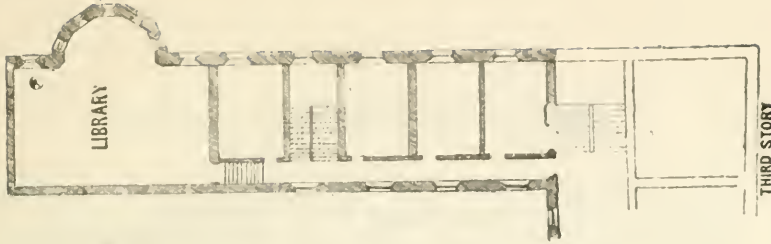
PIEDS DU ROI

11 6



GROUND FLOOR

EAST WING RESTORED



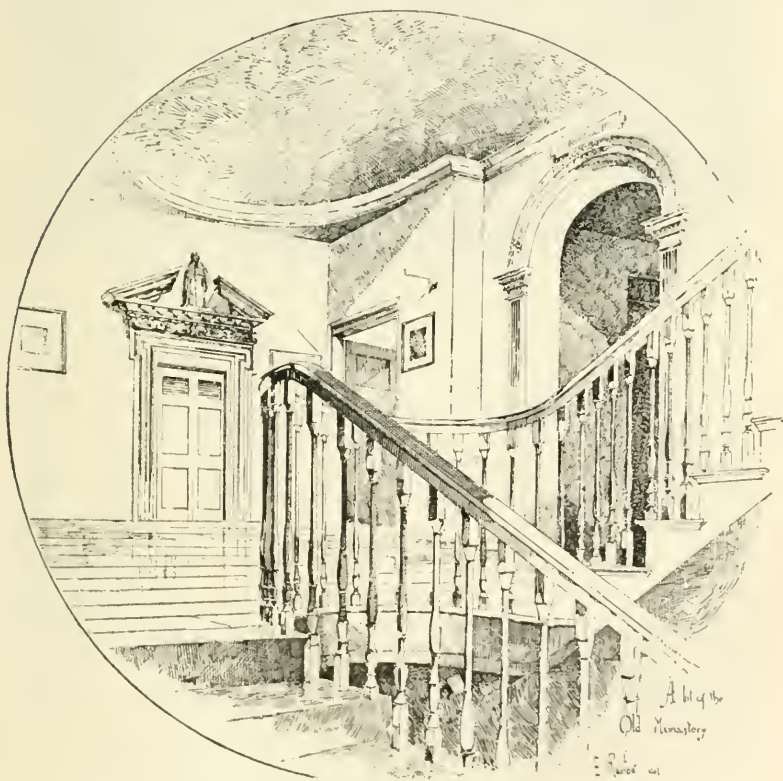
THIRD STORY

latter says: "The church has its doorway in the Rue St. Laurent. This porch which is 21 feet broad is built of small rough-cut stones (*pierres de taille*) and decorated with two orders of Architecture; it is crowned with a pediment. The interior of the church, built partly of ashlar (*moellons*) and partly with small squares of rough-cut stone, is 129 feet long by 63 broad. The vaulted roof of the nave is supported by eight pillars in roughly-dressed stone, and in the two remaining pillars at the entrance to the choir are two small spiral stairways leading up into the roof and down into the crypt. The church is paved with rough-cut stones; the windows are leaded, but there is little left of them." This description accords accurately with the plans referred to, except that the Revolutionary feet are a fraction smaller than the *pieds du Roi*. In the plans, the length of the church is 134 feet, but this includes the apse, which the auctioneer has omitted. The width in the auctioneer's description, 63 feet, is the measurement including the transepts. The nave and aisles, by themselves, only make 39 *pieds du Roi*. In 1731, the tower was struck by lightning, and the bills and documents connected with the restoration* have preserved for us its measurements. The height to the base of the spire—a wooden one—was $72\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and tower and spire together reached the height of 139 feet. These measurements are presumably *pieds du Roi*.

This should give a satisfactorily clear notion of the ancient church of St. Lawrence. It is spoken of as the 'Grande Église,' but this must refer to its history and importance and not to its size and appearance. It was small, narrow and dark, lofty in the nave and vaulted in the simplest manner, with insignificant round-headed windows, and entirely—except in the porch—without architectural ornament. The whole was covered with an

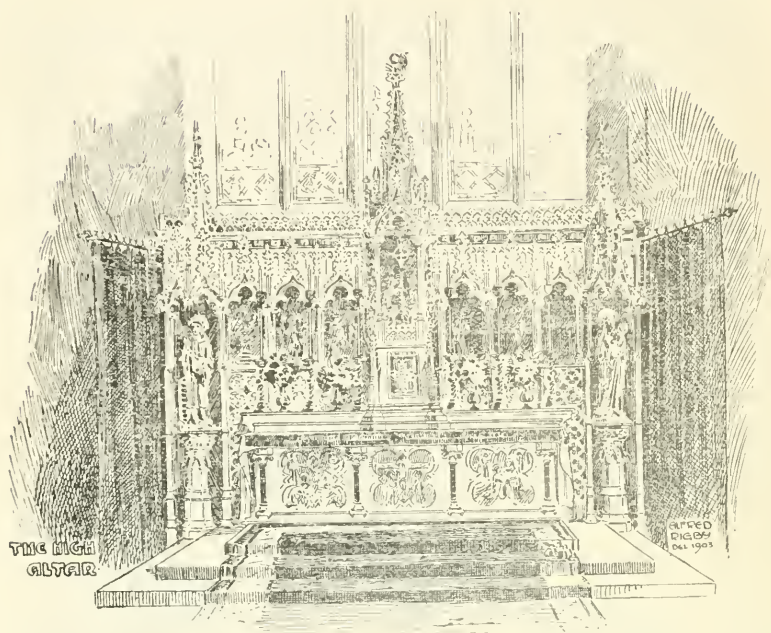
* Archives Départementales, Série H. 86.

elbowed roof of slate. The choir and sanctuary were raised above the floor of the nave by six steep steps, and in the centre of these steps was a window-opening looking into the crypt. Choir and sanctuary were on the smallest scale, the former only eighteen feet square and the latter little better than a large bay-window. Of the monastery, only the stone-vaulted cloister and the kitchen of the old canonry could be reckoned as assets. The rest had to be built up from the ground.



A bit of the
Old Monastery

— 1892 —



CHAPTER VI.

Early Life at St. Lawrence's.

BETTER than the gift itself was the kindness with which the monks were welcomed to the ruined cloister. The Prince-Bishop of the Castle, their over-lord, gave them out of his own goodwill a large garden six acres in extent, adjoining the south side of the quadrangle. This has been confused with a later donation—the *Pré de Jaillon*. The latter endowment was obtained for them by the Bishop of the diocese. Seeing that the Holy See had ordered that the transferred Canons should provide for the keeping up of the Divine Office in the forsaken church—they had apparently overlooked this condition—the Bishop required that they should furnish an endowment

for the purpose. This was done ungrudgingly, and Jaillon was made over to the English Fathers in 1613.

What we really know of the entry of our Fathers into the possession of Dieulouard and the beginnings of monastic life there, we learn from a fragment, "*Annales Monasterij S. Laurentij de Deicustodia*," preserved in Weldon's Records, and from such scraps of information as may be gleaned from legal papers in the Archives Départementales at Nancy. Outside these there is nothing trustworthy. It is asserted, for instance, that two years were spent in repairing the place for the coming of the monks, and that Mr. Pitts "with some Fathers who came now and then" looked after the preparations.* But we know that there was practically nothing done, except that in 1607 (May 30), Fr. Augustine Bradshaw made an agreement with the inhabitants of Dieulouard, by which for a concession of free burial in the church and cloisters ("*liberam—id est, sine solutione alicuius pretij pro terra sancta—sepulturā in eorū ecclesia et claustro*") he obtained a strip of the public cemetery attached to St. Lawrence's "100 pieds de long et 28 pieds de large" (in another document it is described as "*Longitudine circiter 80, Latitudine vero 14 pedū*") for his building operations.† There was not a thing ready for the monks when they got there. The "*Annales*" referred to, commonly called the "*Dieulouard Diary*," give many interesting details on this point.

Perhaps it should be premised here that this precious fragment is written from a personal point of view. It is a party document. There are statements and even facts in it which may possibly be questioned. But there is no reason to doubt the exactness of the main narrative, and in any assertion it makes it deserves consideration. It is of equal value with any document of the same date.

* Weldon's Records.

† Archives Départementales, Série II.

Probably, the more it is studied, the more clearly its accuracy, from its own standpoint, will be established. It is, as it seems to me, written by a devoted follower of Fr. Augustine Bradshaw.

To begin at the earliest point. In the middle of the year 1608, on July 11th, Dr. William Gifford, then Rector of the University, took the habit for St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, in the monastery of St. Remigius at Rheims. Fr. Leander of St. Martin was then acting as novice-master there. On July 30th, Fr. Clement Reyner took the habit in the same way and in the same place, at the hands of Fr. Leander, "about three of the clocke in the afternoon, and was called Fr. Lorenzo de S. Clement." On August 1st, "*circa horam octavam matutino tempore*," Joseph Haworth* a cleric, Anthony Walgrave and Peter Wilford priests, and Robert Babthorpe, a layman, followed the example of Fr. Gifford and Fr. Lawrence Reyner.

The very next day, the 2nd of August, the whole of the newly-clothed, with the exception of Dr. Gifford and Fr. Walgrave, left Rheims, under the leadership of Fr. Leander, for Dieulouard. They reached Verdun on the 4th, and on the 6th were joined by Fr. Nicholas Fitzjames from Douay, and Fr. Walgrave whom they had left behind. Here, at Verdun, a consultation was held, and ways and means discussed. It was decided that all except four should go on to the monastery. The four who remained behind were Fr. Leander, Joseph Haworth, Boniface Wilford and Mellitus Babthorpe. The two latter went to Moyennoutier to pass their noviciate and study philosophy; the two former remained in the Monastery of St. Michael: Fr. Leander as a Professor, Br. Joseph as a student. The rest—Fitzjames, Reyner,

* The St. Gregory's Profession Book records that Fr. Haworth had vowed himself to the Benedictine Order, to receive the habit and make his profession when Superiors should determine. His obedience was promised to Fr. Augustine. The date of this oblation is July 18th, 1607.



THE STUDY STAIRCASE.

Walgrave and a lay servant named Robert Warden—continued their journey to Dieulouard, which they reached on the Vigil of its Patron Saint, August 9th, 1608.

If Fr. Bradshaw had attempted to make any preparation for their comfort beforehand, it had got no further than the clearing away of rubbish. The monks, so the Diary tells us, found nothing but “an empty church, a bare cloister and an unfurnished cottage.” They had to throw themselves on the hospitality of the villagers. This was freely and generously granted them. One Didacus Pierson* put up two of the monks while their little cottage was made ready. This ‘domuncula’ had not yet a single one of the ordinary necessities of life. The monks had been able to bring very little with them except a wonderful trust in Divine Providence. They had 300 francs, all told, with which to provide food and clothing and to build themselves a monastery. This was their little ‘pot of meal’ and ‘cruise of oil’ which, they believed, would carry them through the days of drought, “until the day wherein the Lord will give rain upon the face of the earth.” A little later Mr. Pitts came to help them “ope et consilio et opere.” Then they made a start with the erection of a temporary monastery “ex ea parte claustrī quæ respicit cimiterium, etiam in ipso cimiterio.” We have already noted that Fr. Bradshaw had previously purchased, by a privilege of free burial, a strip of the cemetery. His plan was to widen the west side of the old quadrangle and build a story of wood (ex tabulato opere) over it. By this means a Refectory and four rooms would be provided on the ground floor and eleven cells on the floor above.

* Prior Cummins in the *Ampleforth Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 27, says “surely some compatriot already in this out of the way spot.” But Pierson is the name of a local noble family, which in 1371, 1396 and 1477 is recorded to have bequeathed lands to the old St. Lawrence's. Pierson d'Oriocourt is called the “vové de Dieulouard,” Defender or Knight-Protector of the church. Godfrey de Bouillon was the “Avoué et Défenseur du Saint-Sépulchre.” Notice Historique.

The new building would stretch from the tower at the west end of the Church to the south block and abut upon the old kitchen, which could be brought into use. In four months the little convent was run up to the roof, but on the Vigil of St. Nicholas, December 5th, a violent storm brought it all to the ground.

The little Community was not in the least discouraged. They could do nothing further that winter, but they possessed their souls in patience, and in April of the following year Fr. Augustine Bradshaw came over from Douai. He brought with him Arthur Crowder who took the habit as Br. Anselm, and now with Thomas Merriman, afterwards Br. Bede, and Dr. Gifford, who had arrived from Rheims, the resident religious numbered six, without counting Fr. Bradshaw. It had, therefore, become possible to undertake formally the duties of monastic life and to claim the privileges of a monastery. So far this had been out of the question. Fr. Fitzjames and the two novices Reyner and Walgrave could not pretend to live a strictly conventual life. Probably Fr. Fitzjames acted as Novice-master, but it is not even probable that any one of the three assumed a real superiority over the other two. They were all priests of much the same standing, but Fr. Lawrence Reyner was the most experienced.* He seems to have administered affairs in those first days. Now, however, application could be made for the written approbation of the Bishop of the diocese, requisite for the erection of a Monastery (Conc. Trid. Sess. 25, cap. 3). It was granted by a deed, dated April 8th, 1609.

Shortly after the advent of Dr. Gifford and—so tradition says—with his money, the monastic buildings were recommenced. This time the work was happily brought to completion.

* He was certainly ordained, and apparently on the English Mission, in 1606. On 23rd March of that year, he received from the Vice-General of the Dominicans power to enrol anyone dwelling in England, Ireland or Scotland, in the Confraternity of the Rosary. Archives Départementales, Série H.

At last some English Benedictines could boast of a monastery manned with monks. Fr. Bradshaw nominated Fr. Fitzjames Subprior—the Diary shows that he looked upon himself as the Prior—and gave the little Community certain constitutions in a formal Chapter which he held before he left. Conventual life was thus begun, and the Spanish Vicar General returned to Douai.

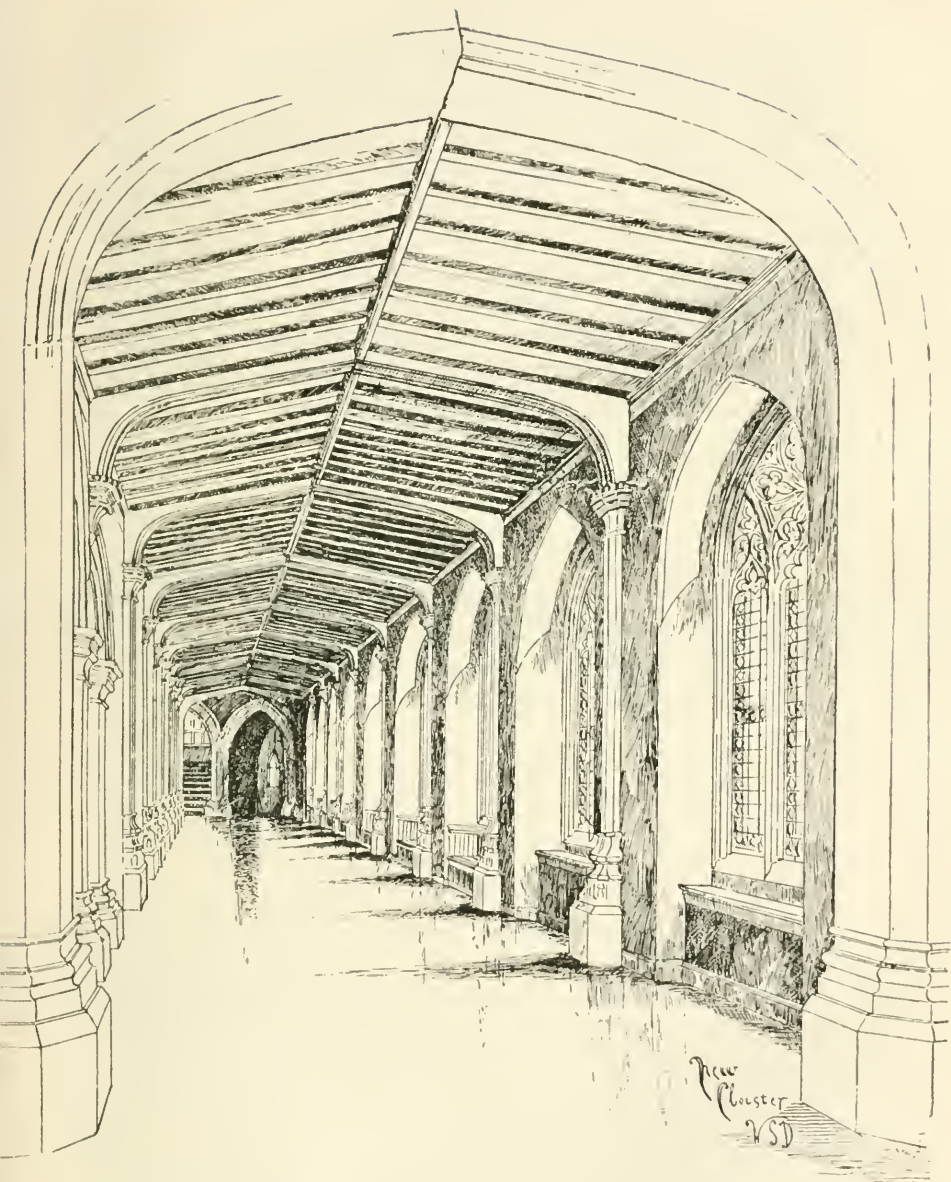
A little anecdote belongs to this period of the history of St. Lawrence's. It is a trivial incident and has been often quoted, but as a record of the simple and earnest observance already commenced, it should not be omitted. Dr. Gifford, who had been Rector Magnificus of the University at Rheims, and, as Weldon writes, "was past fifty when he became a monk, and had been Theologal to nothing less than the Holy Cardinal St. Charles Borromeus Archbishop of Milan," returning from a sermon he had been sent to preach, found himself late when he reached home. He therefore, says Weldon, "went into a garden to excuse himself to his master"—he was a novice and Fr. Fitzjames was novice-master—"who was there at recreation with the community; he ordered him to prostrate, though the ground was covered with snow, and bidding him rise said aloud, 'There lay the print of a Doctor;' all which the venerable Doctor took with that spirit which St. Benedict requires in those who profess his discipline, when he desires that they may be learned in suffering affronts and injuries that they may enjoy the happiness in sharing the opprobrium of the Cross of Christ."* The humour of Fr. Fitzjames's remark is not very striking, but coming from a novice-master it will pass.

Dr. Gifford made his vows on the 11th of July in the same year. He brought to the monastery something considerable in the way of furniture and household goods, and a great number of books. He brought also his own saintly earnestness and learning. The latter was already

known throughout the land. In connexion with the former it is interesting to note that three famous ascetics and reformers of Religious Orders, Peter Fourrier, Servais de Lairuels and Didier de la Cour, had been his companions at the University of Pont-à-Mousson. It is no exaggeration to say of Dieulouard in its infancy that it was a School of Saints. The strictness of its observance was a matter of common talk, and more than one of its founders died in the odour of sanctity.

There is a mystery connected with this period of the history of St. Lawrence's. Nothing can be more certain than that Fr. Gabriel Gifford was elected Prior shortly after his profession. Maihew in his *Trophæa* says distinctly "*primum Prioris officium obivit*" and also "*professionem misit, brevi post ob præclara merita monasterii Prior factus est.*" But the Dieulouard Diary passes over the incident in silence, as though it had never taken place. There was certainly some disagreement about it. It is also pretty certain that the election was not an appointment by Fr. Bradshaw. The probability is that Gifford was elected by the Community, which, now that St. Lawrence's was formally erected as a monastery, claimed its canonical privilege.

By the Diary, and also by Maihew, the incident has been left in obscurity. No one in these days is likely to know just exactly and fully what took place—how Gifford was made Prior and why he resigned. But Maihew's significant brevity and the 'Diary's' equally significant omission tell us nearly as much as we care to know. Put succinctly, our modern knowledge of facts goes so far as this. We know that when Fr. Bradshaw left things at Dieulouard in working order, he himself was nominally the Prior and Fr. Nicholas Fitzjames was Sub-prior, Novice-master and acting Superior. This was on the last day of May, 1609. On the 22nd of the July following, Dr. Gifford made his profession as Fr. Gabriel of St. Mary, and '*brevi*



post' was made Prior. He was the first Prior, Maihew tells us. Two months after Fr. Gabriel's profession—to be accurate on the 25th of September—Fr. George Brown, a monk professed at St. Sinbert's in Spain, turned up with letters from Fr. Augustine Bradshaw appointing him Prior of Dieulouard. He presented these formally in Chapter. A month, later, about the middle of October, the Venerable John Roberts transmitted to Fr. Brown the Spanish General's faculty, which he at once resigned into Fr. Bradshaw's hands. This brought the Vicar post haste from Douai and he appointed someone else—Fr. Paulinus Appleby it may be, certainly not Dr. Gifford—Prior in Fr. Brown's stead.

We know, further, from a letter of Mr. Pitts, that at this very time—the letter is dated October 12th, 1609—the Cassinese Benedictines asserted a claim to some propriety in St. Lawrence's, and that the Lorraine authorities were prepared to acknowledge it; if indeed they had not themselves brought the Cassinese forward.

From this there is one fact indicated with absolute certainty: that there were people in the house and out of the house who objected to an appointment or presentation to the Priorship by the Spanish General and Fr. Bradshaw, his Vicar. But there are several inferences which touch certainty if they do not quite grasp it. One is that the Community had taken the liberty of choosing a Prior for themselves—to wit, Dr. Gifford, and that Fr. Bradshaw set the election aside. Another is that though Fr. George Brown presented, as he was bound to do, his letters of appointment from the Vicar and received a formal faculty or brief from the General, he did not choose to force himself on the Community. Still another is that the Community though it submitted was dissatisfied, since it was practically re-made throughout by additions and removals, and the Vicar General spent three weeks in the monastery to give the new Prior the support of his au-

thority and the guidance of his counsel when he first took up the reins of office. Further inferences much more conjectural are that Fr. Walgrave was a leader in the disturbance, since he was always a disturbing element wherever he found himself, and was so quickly removed out of the house; that Fr. Fitzjames was another discontent, since he left as Fr. Brown came in; that Fr. Brown sympathized with the Community; and that Dr. Gifford and Fr. Barnes—the two most valuable men in the house—were also incompatible, since Fr. Appleby, the Prior, got rid of them at the first opportunity.

In this preliminary skirmish the Spanish Superiors had an easy victory. The monks at Dieulouard were all of them professed for the Valladolid Congregation and owed obedience to the General in Spain and his Vicar in Flanders. Fr. Bradshaw got his own way completely. But, however the disturbance originated, whether in French jealousy of Spanish influence, in a British spirit of independence, or in the furtherance of less important or exalted interests, the result was a movement to make St. Lawrence's an English monastery with full canonical privileges, subject neither to Spanish, French, nor Italian authority, with the right to govern itself, to follow its own customs, and above all with the great Benedictine privilege of electing and instituting its own Prior or Superior. It was a disturbance, but not in any way a regrettable one. It was like a breath of free and exhilarating air.

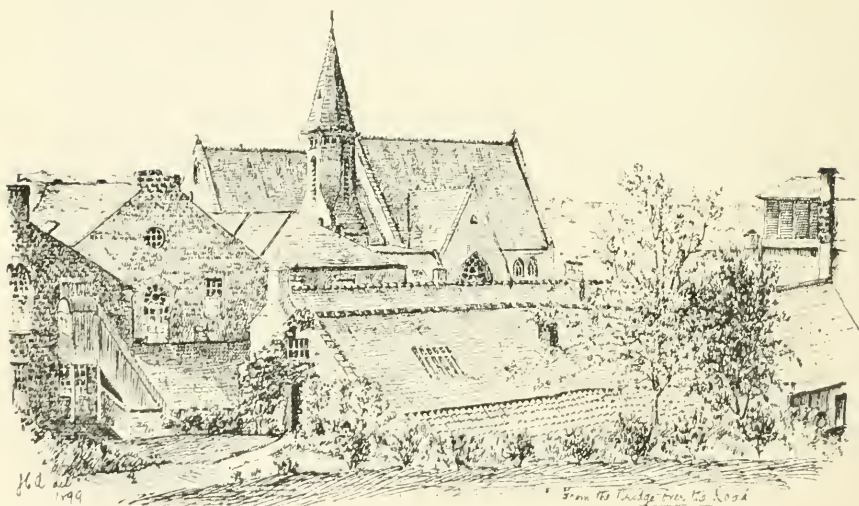
Meanwhile, the prospects of the little monastery are looking brighter. It is still a hand to mouth existence with the monks, and a scanty affair at that. But the Bishop of Toul has come to their further help with a promise of 300 francs a year, and the Bishop of Verdun has given them an acre of woodland for firewood.* Fr.

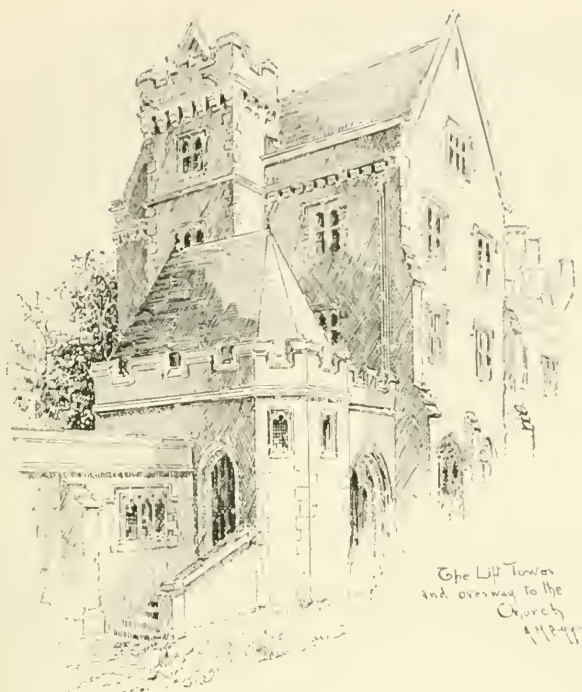
* A right to cut annually an acre of coppice for their own use. In Sussex the value of an acre of coppice is not more than £6, after the expenses of cutting, trimming, and carting—the latter exceptionally great among the

Anselm Crowder has brought the house a dowry of 1500 francs. There are further clothings and professions, and studies in Philosophy and Theology are commenced under Fr. Lawrence Reyner and Dr. Gifford.

The contention concerning the Priorship and the jurisdiction of the Spanish authorities will not have greatly affected the peacefulness of conventual life. Differences of view, antagonistic interests and rival claims are inseparable from a new establishment. They are as certain as the ordinary ailments of infancy. Every new birth and growth is essentially a disturbing element. Something has to make room for it. It must find and secure a place for itself; and this it can only do at the cost, or by the accommodation, of what is already in possession of the ground.

Downs because of the broken and uneven ground—have been deducted. Sometimes it is only worth £3. But this is in the days of coal and expensive labour. In the little monastery at Dieulouard, the acre of firewood meant fuel for the winter. Coppice-wood is never cut oftener than once every ten years, so that the annual acre was equivalent to the gift of over ten acres of woodland.





CHAPTER VII.

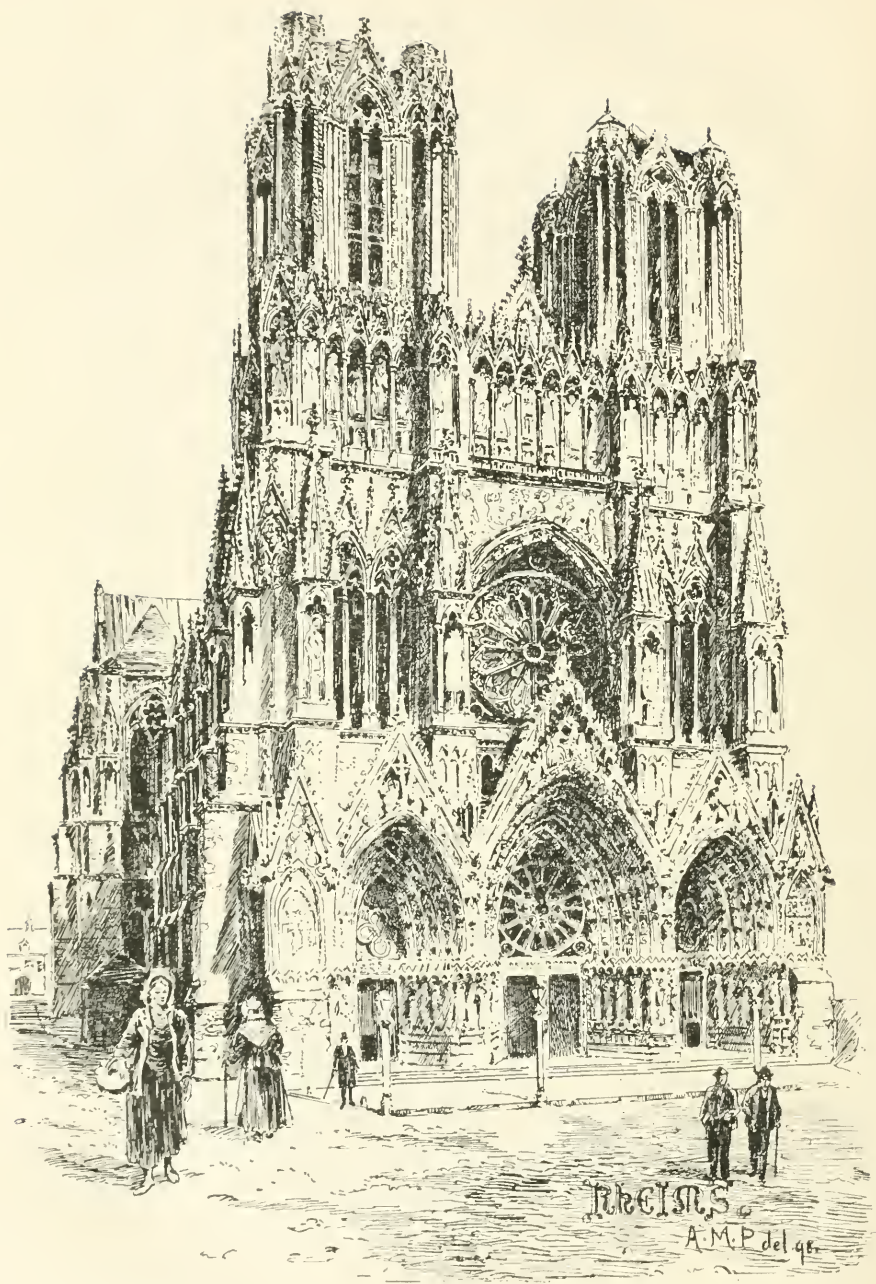
William Gifford.

THERE is no name the English Benedictines, and St. Lawrence's especially, have better reason to be proud of than that of William Gifford, Fr. Gabriel of St. Mary. He was practically the founder of three monasteries, Dieulouard, St. Malo and St. Edmund's at Paris. He was past middle age when he took the habit of a monk, but though the years he spent among the Benedictines were few, he brought them the spoils and trophies of a manly and saintly life, and has bequeathed to them an inheritance of honour and renown which has grown rather than diminished with the lapse of centuries.

Maihew in his *Trophæa* lays stress on the long and distinguished connexion between the Gifford or Giffard family and monasticism. An ancestor in Normandy founded the Cluniac Priory of Longueville, the monastery in which Fr. Bradshaw died. Another, William Gifford, bishop of Winchester in 1107, established the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley in Surrey and the convent of Benedictine nuns at Taunton in Somerset. Yet another notable ancestor was John Giffard, the founder of Gloucester College at Oxford (a Benedictine foundation) in 1292.

At one time the family had been a baronial one—"Comitates Buckinghamiæ et Barones de Brimsfield in Comitatu Glocestriæ"—but these honours had become extinct through default of male heirs. William Gifford was born in the "county of Southampton" in the year 1554, and was the second son of John Gifford and Elizabeth Throckmorton, daughter of Sir George Throckmorton, his wife.* In the year 1567 he was sent by his mother to Lincoln College, Oxford, then governed by John Bridgewater, a Catholic at heart. On Bridgewater's removal, he remained at Oxford at a noted boarding-school, kept by G. Etherege, M.D., for four years. Then he was sent to the Continent, and studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and afterwards at Louvain under Cardinal Bellarmine. He remained at Louvain four years and took his Bachelor degree in Divinity there. Louvain becoming "pene desolata" by the wars, he returned to Paris, whence he was summoned to Rheims by William Allen, afterwards Cardinal. Dr. Allen sent him to Rome. His name is entered in the books of the English College on September 15th, 1579. After he had completed his course and was ordained Priest, he was recalled by Dr. Allen to Rheims to succeed Dr. Gregory Martyn as Professor of Theology in the English College. This was in the year 1582.

* She afterwards married William Hodgkins.



RHEIMS

A.M.P. del. 96.

Two years later, he took his Doctor's degree in the University of Pont-à-Mousson—"no contemptible University," Weldon calls it—"choosing it to avoid expense." At the same time he maintained his public thesis for the doctorate (36 propositions *de sacramentis*) in the palace of the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims. He must have passed through Dieulouard several times in the journeys between Rheims and Pont-à-Mousson. For twelve years altogether, with some intervals between, he lectured at Rheims on the Summa.

The value of such an extended and varied course of studies cannot be overrated. Oxford could have made but little impression upon him, since he was only a boy when in residence. But at Louvain, Paris, Rome, Rheims and Pont-à-Mousson he remained long enough to get full benefit from the different schools and traditions, and from intercourse with the professors and students. He made many friends who were helpful to him in after life. As a further result, three languages, English, French and Latin, were practically native to him.

Some entries in the Douai Diaries tell us of his distinguished success as a student, of a suspicion in the mind of Dr. Allen that Gifford's sympathies were not with the Spanish party, of his exemplary life, and his amiable and admirable disposition. It was during this period of his life that the two brothers de Guise, the Cardinal Archbishop Louis and Henry the Duke, took him under their protection and promised him, during their lifetime, a pension of 200 gold pieces. The two brothers, however, were assassinated at Blois, by order of King Henry III, at the end of the year 1588.

We find Dr. Gifford twice sojourning in Italy about this time, driven out of France, no doubt, by the wars of the League. On one occasion he was admitted as 'Theological' into the household of St. Charles Borromeo—he owed this to the introduction of Dr. Owen Lewis, Bishop of

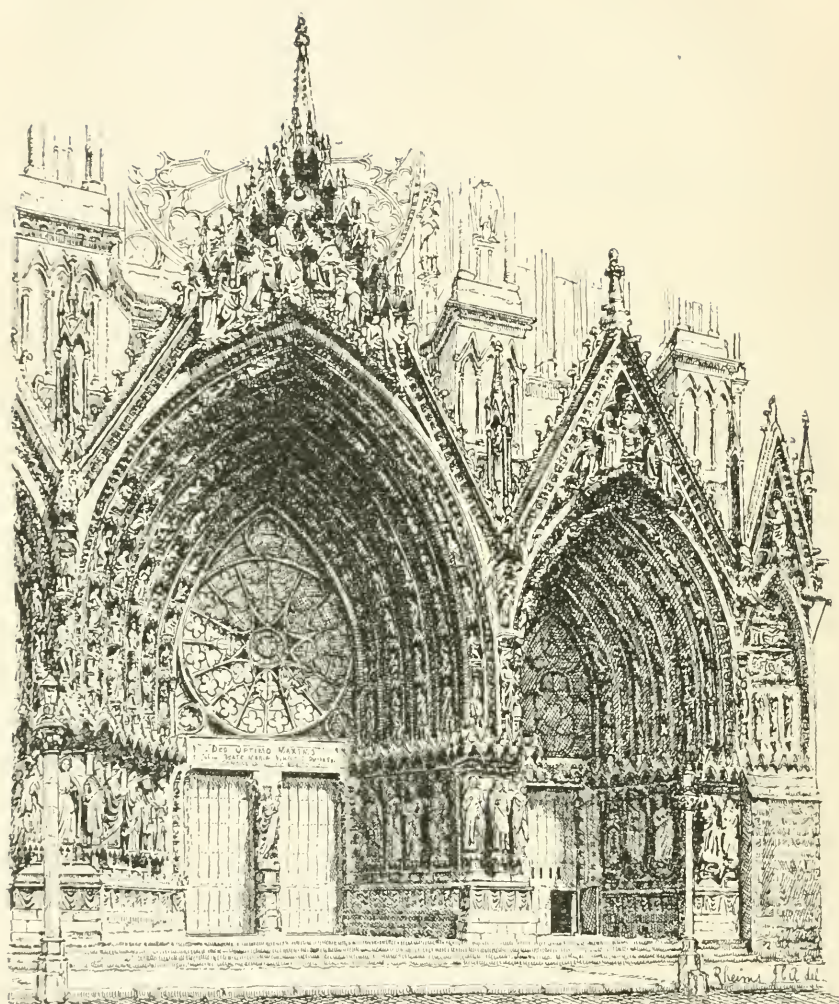
Cassano—and on the other he journeyed in the retinue of Dr. Allen, who took Dr. Gifford with him on the occasion of his elevation to the purple. In the list of Cardinal Allen's household he is described as “molto nobile e dotto theologo del signor Cardinale . . . e di molto valore e merito ed ha niente per mantenersi.” The next incident in his life was his preferment by the Holy See to the Deanery of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Lille (Rissel, in Flemish), May 6th, 1596.

This appointment thrust him into the midst of English Ecclesiastical affairs. The action he then took needs no apology. He was not in sympathy with the Catholic political intrigues against Queen Elizabeth and afterwards against James I. He was wholly against any foreign interference with England. He was suspected wrongly of communicating the treasonable schemes of the agitators to the English ministers.* But if he had done so, no Englishman in these days would condemn him for it. Recent Catholic historians, like Fr. Knox, candidly admit that it is Cardinal Allen and the Jesuit party whose conduct nowadays calls for explanation and apology.† Gifford, in Elizabeth's time, had communication with Walsingham, the Queen's Minister of State, but fortunately the letter—wise, noble, pathetic, wholly loyal both to the Catholic Church and to his afflicted country—has been preserved to us.‡ Later he was commissioned by the Holy See to bear

Records of the English Province S.J., Series I. p. 63.

† Dr. Gifford's slight connexion with English politics and intrigues must not be confounded with that of his nephew Gilbert Gifford. He openly admitted that Gilbert's actions were reprehensible. Fr. Blount, S.J., in a letter printed in Foley's Records (Series I p. 63), writes of the suspicions against him, but also that his removal from Lille was reported to be because “he was much affected to the Queen of Scots.” Dr. Gifford's correspondence with Fr. Parsons, S.J., is, as might be expected, wholly non-committal on either side.

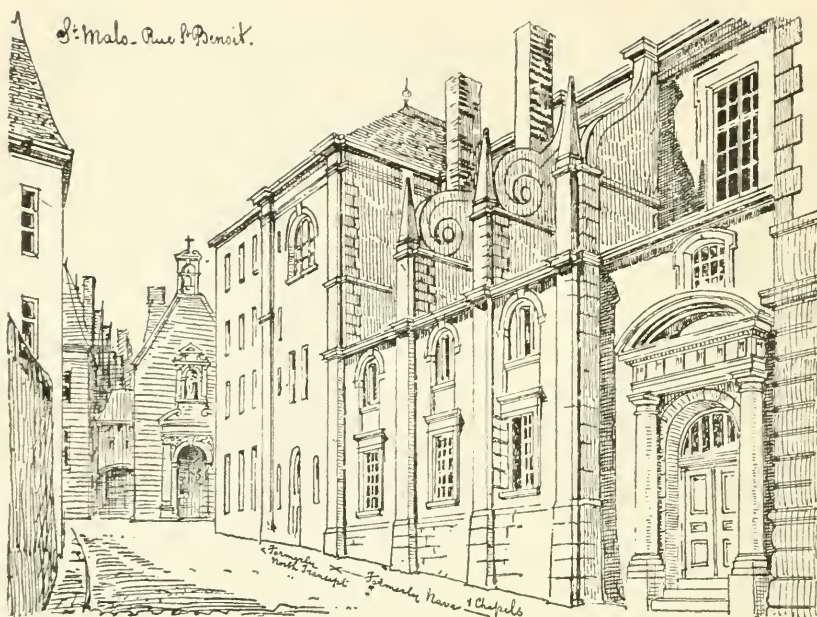
‡ Calendar of State Papers, 1581-90, p. 321. It has been printed in *Memorials of Cardinal Allen*, p. 262.



a dispatch to King James assuring him of the Pope's anxiety that English Catholics should submit peacefully to his government. This was in 1603, immediately before the Gunpowder Plot. It is surmised that King James was angry with Dr. Gifford at his seeming duplicity, protesting the devotion of Catholics at the very moment they were conspiring against the King's life.* Some have attributed Gifford's removal from his deanery to King James's displeasure; others to the intrigues of the Jesuits.† It is a matter of no consequence whose influence with the Archduke brought it about. It was a happy escape from a place where the atmosphere was tainted with disease—foul with plots and suspicions, disloyalty, perjury and calumny. It was in 1606 he left Lille for Douai, Paris and then Rheims, and in 1608 he was made Rector Magnificus of the Rheims University. But he had hardly received this appointment, when, as we have seen, he became a Benedictine monk at St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard.

* He was put in prison in the Clink and banished the Kingdom. Calendar of State Papers, Aug. I p. 31.

† The Abbé Haudecoeur takes the latter view and speaks of the Papal Nuncio making inquiries into the charges brought against him by the Jesuits, and ordering them to make him reparation for their false accusations.



CHAPTER VIII.

Chelles, St. Malo and Paris.

WITHIN a few years of the foundation of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard, three new Priories were established, which may be fairly classed as filiations of it. First came that of *Holy Cross* at Chelles. Shortly after his profession, Fr. Francis Walgrave was summoned to Douai by Fr. Bradshaw, and with equal celerity sent to the Royal Convent at Chelles, a little town about 13 miles out of Paris on the way to Meaux. This was at the request of the Lady Abbess, Mary, daughter of Claude of Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale. She was bent on reform and was recommended, so it is said, by Dom Bernard, Prior of the College of Cluny at Paris, to apply to the monks of Dieulouard for help in the good work. One of the three

churches attached to the Abbey, Holy Cross, was a Benedictine foundation. She wished to revive it. The task was cheerfully and successfully undertaken by the young monk, with some personal help from Fr. Augustine Bradshaw. Novices were taken, and we have the names of Frs. Bennet Smith, Maurus Hames and Dunstan Craffe or Grove who were professed there. Very quickly there were six Bene-



dictine monks at Chelles, living with all the observance and austerity of the parent community at Dieulouard.

Meanwhile, on the plea of poverty—and no doubt it was difficult to make ends meet—Dr. Gifford and Fr. Barnes, to put it plainly, were packed out of Dieulouard by the Prior, Fr. Appleby, to seek their fortune. Weldon compares the situation to the case of Abraham and Lot, when the Patriarch said to his brother “Behold the whole land

is before thee : depart from me I pray thee." It is supposed that they turned their faces towards Spain, to seek a new camping-ground. But Fr. Paulinus Appleby's letter—they received their commission direct from him—makes no mention of this intention.* Arrived at St. Malo, the two monks were hospitably welcomed by an English gentleman named Nailor. Here, says Weldon, "the Bishop, the Reverend Lord William Le Gouverneur, became so charmed with their learning and piety that he began to persuade them to let the thoughts of Spain alone and remain there."† There they did remain. On Gifford's application, Fr. Appleby sent three Dieulouard monks, Placid Hilton, Mellitus Bapthorpe and Benedict d'Orgain to begin a Priory, and to these Fr. Bradshaw added Frs. Green and Kemp of Spain, and Fr. Columban Malone of Douai. With these eight monks monastic life was begun at Clermont, outside the town, where a house with a chapel had been generously placed at their disposal by a French citizen named Toutin, at the inspiration of Mr. Nailor. The donor added also an annual endowment of corn in return for certain Mass obligations.

Dr. Gifford was formally appointed by Fr. Bradshaw Prior of the new monastery. The monks supported themselves by their work. Fortunately for the English Benedictines, priests were scarce in St. Malo at the time. The Bishop made Gifford "theologus", and Fr. Hilton took charge of the town children. "Fr. Barnes taught Casuistry in the Cathedral and the others sweated in the confessionals and pulpits."‡ However, it would have been scarcely human for the Canons of the Cathedral to have submitted quietly to this encroachment on their duties. There was a protest asking for the ejection of the Benedictines from the city. This delayed for a while the

* The two accounts of the foundation of St. Malo do not agree.

† Weldon, p. 79.

‡ Weldon, p. 81.

erection of permanent buildings. It was only in 1616 that Dr. Gifford ventured to purchase, from one Rénatus Bergeot, a site for a monastery. Meanwhile, the monks divided themselves between Clermont and the house of the theologus, which the Bishop had kindly given into Dr. Gifford's use.

With the further history of St. Bennet's Priory, St. Malo, St. Lawrence's has nothing to do. Its position and work made agreement with the local clergy difficult, if not impossible. A concordat, not at all favourable to the monks, was signed in 1621, but even this did not put an end to the jealousies and contentions which had been excited at its foundation.

Before following Dr. Gifford to St. Edmund's in Paris, a word should be said of the great gift which brought him always into prominence wherever he went—his gift of oratory. Even at Lille, where he was least successful, it was the English Dean who was chosen to deliver the great Latin oration welcoming the Archduke Albert, who had married Isabella of Spain, as Governor of the Netherlands. It was this gift which made him so welcome to the Bishop of St. Malo. This gift also lifted him afterwards into the highest spiritual position in France. Weldon says "in all he spent fourteen years in preaching at Paris." This is a rather loose statement. The fourteen years can only be the sum of the seven years which Gifford spent at Lille, and the seven divided between St. Malo and St. Edmund's. No doubt he did preach in Paris a good deal during these years, but he did much else besides; only for about a year did he give himself up wholly to pulpit work. But Weldon's account of Dr. Gifford's celebrity deserves to be quoted in full. "Here"—that is at St. Malo—"his fame so spread that he became Visitor of the most noble Abbey of Fontevrault, which charge he performed egregiously for some years; and his affairs obliging him to resort to Paris, he was there so followed for his sermons,

that though an Englishman he was honoured with the chief pulpits of that renowned city, and so esteemed one of its best preachers that the most Christian King Louis the XIII and the chief of the court and many other great men were frequently of his auditory. He was very expert in that useful faculty having often made Latin orations before many Princes; as at Lisle at the inauguration of Albert and Isabella, Sovereign Princes of the Low Countries, and at Rheims before the Cardinals of Bourbon, Vendôme, Guise, Vaudmont, and the Duke of Guise, D'Aumale, &c. In all he spent fourteen years in preaching at Paris, so universally applauded that he acquired to himself, through the excellency of his merits, the name of *Le Père Bénédicte*, the Benedictine Father. Of this preaching a pleasant thing is assured which deserves mention. His practice was not only loyal, but his public discourses tended also to inspire the same virtue into the public which then was somewhat off the hinges. Notice was given him to take heed or else he would be pistoled; but he persisting intrepidly in his duty, one day a coach stopped at his door where the Fathers lived, and an unknown person demanding him, gave him a bag full of gold pistoles, praying him to continue his lessons of loyalty. Coming up stairs he told his brethren he was pistoled, but to ease them of their grief he presently showed how.”*

Very soon after Chelles was fairly started, the Abbess and Fr. Walgrave conceived the idea of an English Benedictine settlement in Paris. Weldon is authority for the assertion that the intention, over and above the furtherance of the English Mission, was to found a nursery to supply the Priory at Chelles with monks. This is a natural and probable supposition. But documents at Nancy prove that it was intended also to benefit Dieulouard; at least at the date when there was question of

* Weldon pp. 104-5.

actually purchasing a freehold. An English lady,* who was professed at Chelles, made over the use of 10,000 francs to Saint Lawrence's, on condition of the payment of 150 francs yearly to the Abbey as her dowry. In 1617, this money was placed by Fr. Maihew and the Laurentians in the hands of the Abbess for the purchase of a house in Paris. At that time—it is expressly stated—the intention of the house at Paris was “for the use of the young student monks from Dieulouard.” For the benefit both of Chelles and the English mission and St. Lawrence's—let us say—in 1615 a beginning was made in Montague College, and six Laurentians Fr. Clement Reyner (the first Prior, according to Hewlett the historian of St. Edmund's), Fr. Nicholas Curre, Fr. George Gaire, the Venerable Fr. Alban Roe, Fr. Placid Gascoigne, and Br. Dunstan Pettinger, were sent by Maihew, Prior of Dieulouard, to undertake the work. There were troubles from the commencement. A month or so later the monks were compelled to shift their quarters into the Hotel de St. André—afterwards the Visitation Convent. From that they were soon ejected by the owner, who required it for her own use. This was in 1618. The Community was then installed by Gifford, who was acting as Prior, in a house, hired from a M. Clopin, on a part of the site of the present Luxembourg Palace, in the suburb of St. Germain. St. Edmund's dwelt there for six years and a half.

When the foundation of the Paris House was arranged between Walgrave and Maihew (Fr. Leander, the Spanish Vicar seems to have had nothing to do with it) in all probability they believed themselves joint members of the same

* Anne de Bluette or Mlle. Bluette. There is a Thomas Bluet in the list of the students of the English College at Rheims. The family seems to have had some sort of connexion with St. Lawrence's. A. M. Edward Blouat, Ecuyer, left 3500 francs to St. Lawrence's for Masses in 1684. Archives Départementales.

English Congregation, newly-erected on the plans of Fr. Anselm Beech. However, before a beginning was actually made, an order had come from Rome commanding all English Benedictines to revert to the obedience of the Congregation of their profession. As a result, the lease of the the monastery, or what was in use for it, was held, and the endowment "150 livres de revenu" was paid, by Fr. Walgrave, a member of the Spanish Congregation; but the monks were one and all of them members of the English Congregation, as it was called. Fr. Walgrave, so Fr. Hames afterwards testified, asserted jurisdiction over St. Edmund's as a dependency of Chelles; Fr. Maihew, as the minutes of the English Chapter of 1616 testify, had no doubt the monks were under his control as Vicar General "inter Oceanum et Alpes" of the English body. It may be questioned, which of them, the patron of the monastery or the Superior of the monks, had jurisdiction over the establishment. But it is exceedingly improbable that the question was raised between them. Fr. Walgrave's so-called appointments were inoperative, if not imaginary. Fr. Bradshaw, his first nomination as Prior, was a subject of Fr. Leander and owed no obedience to either Fr. Walgrave who denied Fr. Leander's authority, or to Fr. Maihew who belonged to a different body. Fr. Berington, his second appointment, was a kind of dummy Superior, really a conventual of Chelles and, as far as can be ascertained, a permanent resident there. Dr. Gifford was undoubtedly a Prior, as he himself testifies in his letters, and as Fr. Leander asserts in the *Apostolatus* (Tract. 4, p. 198), but he rid himself of Fr. Walgrave's assumption of control and rejected both of the conditions attached to the Priorship.* In its inchoate state before Dr. Gifford took

* The "Running Register" has an interesting statement indicating that Dr. Gifford refused Fr. Walgrave's first condition and that this refusal was talked about. The condition was that everything acquired or to be acquired by him during his Priorship should be for the Paris House. Speaking of

charge, it is not likely that anyone had the legal right to call himself Prior. But it is likely that Maihew looked upon Fr. Clement Reyner as Superior; and this may be Fr. Hewlett's authority for his very positive assertion.

Dr. Gifford's share in the foundation of St. Edmund's, has been much exaggerated and much depreciated. Mr. Tierney (Dodd IV, p. 100, Note) is inaccurate in his statement: "It was with this view and under these circumstances that Dr. Gifford, then lately consecrated Bishop of Archidial, came forward in 1619 and at his own expense erected the monastery afterwards known as St. Edmund's." But it is equally inaccurate and unjust to deny to Dr. Gifford a prominent and praiseworthy share in its foundation. He was called in to help the Community at a critical time. There can be no question that it was *at his own expense* he settled the monks in the new house.* It was his action in declining the house prepared by Walgrave and the Abbess which released St. Edmund's from what might have proved an intolerable servitude. It was he who afterwards defended the Community against Fr. Walgrave's claims and assertions. He paid an annual pension for a student, and took an active interest in the welfare of the house to the very end of his life. But for him St. Edmund's would have been tied down and restricted; under the domination of Fr. Walgrave, subservient to the Abbess of Chelles, under obligations to Dieulouard, instead of being, as it became, a sturdy, prosperous, honoured and independent monastery.

Gifford's erection of 'Congregations' as he calls them, at St. Malo and Paris, he adds "Howbeit all that he can well spare, hee bestowes upon these two Congregations of Monks."

* He is spoken of as *furnishing* the house out of his own pocket. This must mean that he broke off so completely from Chelles that he would have nothing to do even with the furniture the Abbess had provided.



CHAPTER IX.

An English Primate of France,

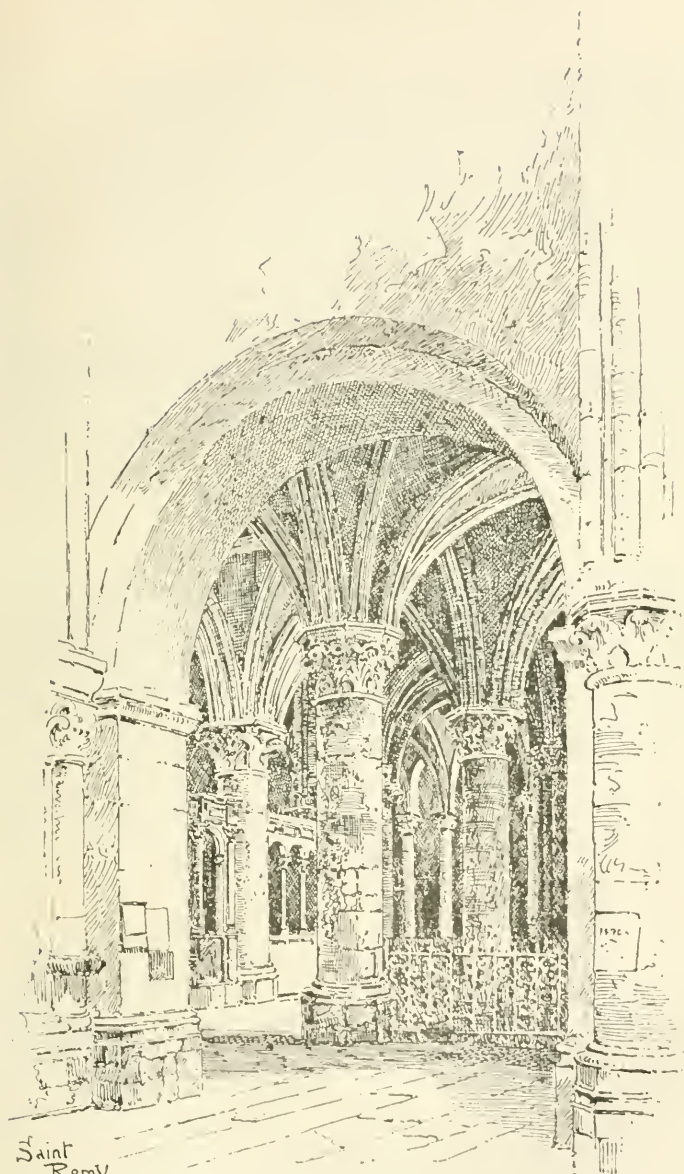
WE may pass over for the present Dr. Gifford's share in bringing about union between the various bodies of English Benedictines and his election as First President of the new English Congregation. The next incident in his career is his appointment as Auxiliary to Cardinal Louis of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims. This Louis is not Dr. Gifford's old friend, but a nephew; nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose he was on terms of intimacy with the English monk. To us in these days it seems a remarkable thing—this choice of an English monk as a French bishop; but it does not seem to have created any particular surprise at the time. Dr. Gifford was a very distinguished man; notably so, as we have seen, in the city of Rheims. The appointment may or may not have been a mark of the

Cardinal's affection ; it was very certainly a proof of his esteem. The Englishman had also won by his own talents the support of the French King, Louis le Juste, who had succeeded Henry IV, his father, and whom we have noted as an admirer of Le Père Bénédictin when preaching in Paris. He had further secured the good-will, not so easily won nor so readily given, of the younger and more earnest of the French clergy. Though, in becoming a Benedictine, Dr. Gifford had lost touch with French ecclesiastical affairs, and had broken off his connexion with the house of Guise, he was not forgotten. He never was forgotten by those who had known him. He was one of those whom their fellow men delight to honour. Wherever he went they gave him the first place, without hesitation and without jealousy. It was not altogether his ability nor his personal fascination, though these must have counted for something. It was mainly because they believed in him. Not only those who loved him, but those also who counted him as an enemy, were content to put themselves into his hands. People could not suspect him—not, at least, for long—of anything but good ; and they never suspected his good will. It is interesting to find Cardinal Allen wholly unable to mistrust him, even when he knew that Gifford's sympathies and help belonged to an adverse party. Driven out of Lille by intrigue, with efforts made to destroy his character, he had scarcely set foot in Rheims when he was made Rector of the University. Leaving honours and preferments to become a monk, hardly was his noviciate ended when he was elected Prior. Sent out of his monastery, and wandering accidentally into St. Malo, the Bishop gave him a house and an income, and prayed him to remain with him. Staying awhile in Paris to raise funds for his priory at St. Malo, the Paris monks begged him to dwell with them always as their Prior. At the erection of the English Benedictine Congregation, he was straightway elected its President.

When the French King had come to know something of him, he wished at once to make him a Bishop. When he came to know something more of him he wanted him to be Primate of France. Gifford was one of those sincere men whose sincerity was felt by all who came in contact with him, and one of those large-hearted men whom others could trust to find out and appreciate the good in themselves and everybody else. Erratic, hot-tempered, irresponsible Fr. Barnes, free lance as he was, equally ready, as the whim took him, to sacrifice himself for principle, to champion a bad cause, or to sell his services for money, was as docile as a novice in the company of Dr. Gifford, and the good Archbishop, even when condemning the acts of his old companion could not help speaking a kindly word for him in his well-merited disgrace. No doubt the English Prelate had enemies—of a sort; in those contentious days the meekest of men had to take sides in somebody else's quarrel if he had none of his own; but even his enemies could not help thinking well of him.

Backed by the authority of Louis XIII and supported by an influential body of the French clergy, the Cardinal Archbishop's request was granted by Pope Paul V. Dr. Gifford received consecration as Bishop of Archidale at the hands of Charles de Balzac, Bishop of Noyon, in the monastic church of St. Germain des Prés, on the 21st September, 1618. The Cardinal had asked for Dr. Gifford so far back as the early part of the year 1616, and had promised him, as a proper maintenance, a pension of 1200 écus for life.

This honour, however, only proved a step to the Archbishopric itself. The office of Auxiliary he is said to have fulfilled "*ingenti cum labore et summa cum laude.*" In 1621, he preached the funeral oration of Cardinal Louis, and, in the following year, the *Carême* at St. Germain l'Auxerrois; the latter before the members of Parliament, the Court and the King. His tribute to his predecessor



Saint
Remy
A.M.P. 1903.

spoken in the Convent of St. Pierre at Rheims, in the presence of the "Très-Illustre et très religieuse Princesse M. Madame Renée de Lorraine," the Abbess, and her Community, has been printed, and is an earnest, somewhat formal, distinguished piece of rhetoric, such as one would expect on such an occasion. Some of the Lenten sermons have also been published, but unfortunately in Latin; one would have liked to have them in the words which made them so effective at the time. During the interregnum he acted as Vicar Capitular, having been duly elected by the diocesan Chapter; in this capacity he held two ordinations in 1622. The King nominated him to the vacant See in the same year; determined to this choice by the Lenten discourses the English Bishop had preached in his presence. The nomination was readily confirmed by the Holy See.

Dom Marlot, who preached one of the funeral orations at Archbishop Gifford's death, has thought the ceremony of the reception of the English Prelate by the city of Rheims worthy of special record. It was a public triumph; such a welcome as made evident the esteem and popularity the Englishman had already won. After receiving the bulls and the pallium from the hands of the Archbishop of Soissons and taking the oath customary on such occasions, he entered into possession of his See on the 12th of February, 1623. Previously—by a Capitular decision of the 1st of February—he had been exempted, because of his age and the inclemency of the season, from the ancient custom of walking to the Cathedral barefoot. The festival filled up two days. Outside the city, he was met by a procession of the citizens, and received addresses from the chief magistrate and the Deputy-Governor; then, at the gates, he was welcomed by the Archdeacon and the Rector of the University. Within the city, between the two bridges, he was received in state by the Aldermen; at the rue des Esleus, close to the *Porte de Mars*, an old Roman

triumphal arch, the governor of the city waited for him with fresh compliments; further on the route, at the rue du Barbastre, the Jesuit fathers were gathered to show their goodwill; and finally he was received by his brethren, the monks of St. Remigius, in their venerable church "*au son des cloches et des orgues.*" It was one of those gorgeous civic shows in which our mediæval forefathers delighted. The following day was the ecclesiastical festival, when he was installed in the Cathedral "*et présenté proche St. Denys en chapitre avec les compliments usités.*" Dom Chastelain tells us that he was the last Archbishop to be welcomed with this splendid ceremonial.

During Archbishop Gifford's lifetime, so wide was the recognition of his merits and so generous the esteem in which he was held, that little or no malevolence was excited by this supreme honour given to a foreigner. And since his death no historian of any note has ever questioned his clear integrity, his saintly humility, or his unselfish devotion to his work. French writers have freely confessed the English Archbishop to have been one of the noblest and most saintly of the Primates of their country. But in later times—the imputation has been repeated in an English work—the elevation of Dr. Gifford to the Primacy has been spoken of, somewhat obscurely, as an 'arrangement' with the Guise party. Four members of this semi-royal family preceded Archbishop Gifford at Rheims, and one—a very unworthy one—succeeded him. It is suggested that the Englishman, to use a colloquialism, undertook to keep the place warm for the young Guise, who was then in his teens, agreeing to resign when the youthful pretender was old enough. Let us admit that the Guise family may have wished to make such an arrangement if they could. They were unable to do so. King Louis XIII, le Juste, unlike his predecessor Henry IV, or his successor Louis XIV, was incapable of such a



THE STUDY ROOM.

transaction. Nor can a breath of suspicion fall upon Pope Gregory XV. These two had the appointment entirely in their hands. The Guise family had no power to influence the election of Archbishop Gifford except through the King and the Pope. Gifford could do nothing at all to secure his own appointment. Looking at the history of the Archbishopric before and after Gifford's time, the transaction seems plausible enough; it is fortunate, therefore, for the reputation of the English monk that his election took place when it did, when those who took part in it were men of blameless character wholly incapable of treating a bishopric as a family perquisite.

A private kindness done by Archbishop Gifford to the Guise family, shortly after entering into possession of his See, is chiefly responsible for the idea that he was a puppet in its hands. The Primate was generally Abbot *in commendam* of the Abbey of St. Remigius at Rheims. This meant that the Abbot's portion of the revenues of the Abbey became part of the *mensa* of the See. Hence it had come to be reckoned as belonging to the Archbishopric by right. But in reality the preferment was at the will of the King, and it needed also the sanction of the Holy See and of Parliament. The Duke of Guise asked Louis, before the formalities of investing Archbishop Gifford with the revenues of the Abbey were completed, to bestow them upon his son, M. l'Abbé de St. Denis, as he was called. This the King refused, holding the preferment to belong to the Archbishop by right and promise.* Afterwards, the Duchess, on the death of her husband, preferred the request to Archbishop Gifford. He granted it freely; indeed, he could not in common decency deny it. Besides his own personal connexion with the family, it was considered that the Primatial See itself was under obligation

* According to Weldon and M. l'Abbé Haudecoeur, the King had before this signified to Dr. Gifford, through P. Seyran his confessor, his intention of making over to him the revenues of the Abbey.

to the house of Lorraine. Moreover, there was a recent precedent in favour of it. A similar application had been made in 1589,* and the Abbey was given away to Louis, the second son of Duke Henry who was assassinated at Blois, —the very Louis whom Dr. Gifford succeeded as Primate. The concession asked for was a handsome gift of 40,000 francs a year, a considerable part of the Episcopal income; but no one was touched by the loss of it except Gifford himself, and if he had refused it he would have offended what was then called the Catholic party. That there was no private arrangement or understanding between the parties is evident from the fact that no one thought of troubling the Archbishop about it at all until the King had declined to set his claim aside. When made, the gift was looked upon as a kindly, graceful and worthy act; to us, in these days, for all that can be said of it, it has the unpleasant, forbidding mark of a *commendam* preferment. But it is as well to remember that the Abbey would have been quite as much *in commendam*, if the revenues had gone to the Archbishop.

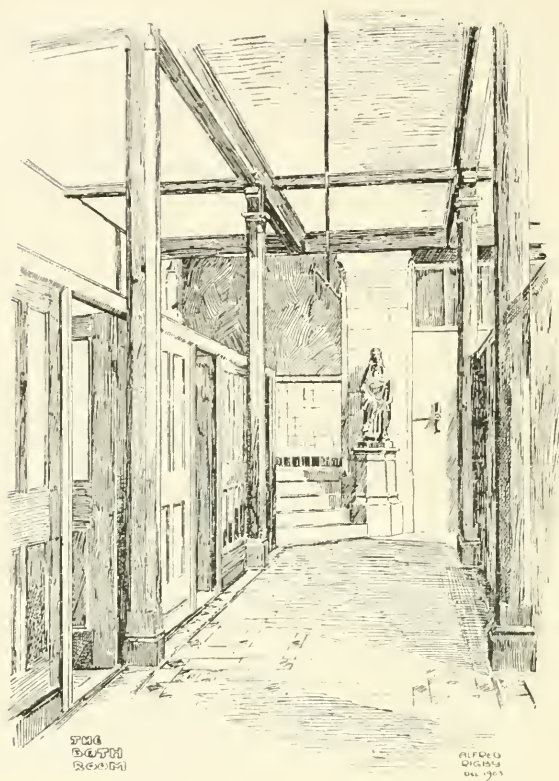
Archbishop Gifford, Primate of France, Duke and first Peer of the Realm, Legate-born † of the Holy See, was neither the prince nor the courtier nor the statesman, but simply and humbly the bishop. His panegyrist, an Augustinian Abbot, says naively of him that he was “a real pastor amidst a people in so great necessity of such help that it had never seen nor heard speak of a bishop.”‡ He devoted himself to his diocese. He was princely only in his charities, delighting to seek out and help those who were too timid, too shamefaced, or too independent to ask an alms. His ordinary dress was the Benedictine habit, and in his private life he continued, as far as possible, the fasts and austerities and daily

* Memorials of Cardinal Allen. p. 312.

† Legate by hereditary right as Archbishop Primate.

‡ Weldon p. 159

practices of his old monastery. His religious brethren were always first in his affection. It is a pretty story, that of his being on a visit to St. Edmund's at Paris along with his friend St. Francis of Sales, when the two Prelates, the Primate and the Saint, assisted a young priest, one at each side of him, during the Vespers of his first Mass. Fr. Maihew wrote of him as one would write of a Saint. Fr. Leander was another frank and devoted admirer; on one occasion he urged the council of St. Edmund's not to press a claim of two hundred pounds, which they believed to be due to them (but which in all probability the Archbishop knew nothing about), out of respect to one who was "the chiefest flower in our garden." In his life, as in his death, the Archbishop placed his trust in the Mother of God whom he had chosen for his patron, and his dying words "*adjuva me quia promisisti me*" have even the suggestion of a miraculous favour received during his lifetime. He died in Holy Week, on April 11th, 1629, and was entombed in the Cathedral, but by his own desire his heart was buried before the statue of Our Lady in the convent of St. Peter at Rheims. Let his own words, chosen for an inscription upon his tomb, stand as the summary of his life: "He tried to do good to every one and did nobody a hurt."



CHAPTER X.

Schemes of Union.

WHETHER Fr. Bradshaw found himself unable to carry out the promises he had made to the donors of Dieulouard, or whether he had made them under a misunderstanding, or whether the revival of the almost-extinct old English Congregation had spoiled his original scheme, or, indeed, whether he had simply changed his mind, it seems quite certain he had relinquished, at least for the time, the idea of making St. Lawrence's an independent English Bene-

dictine monastery. It has already been noted that he did not admit the right of the Community to elect its own Superior. He removed the most influential of the monks almost as soon as they were professed. He broke up the studies begun under Gifford, Reyner and Barnes. Very likely money matters had a good deal to do with some of his actions. All the same, in the light of the protests of the Canons of Nancy in 1610 and 1613, we have a right to suppose that he and his successor, Fr. Leander, wished Dieulouard to be and to remain, under existing circumstances, nothing more than a noviciate house for the monks of the Spanish Congregation. Fortunately, they were not so completely masters of the situation as they believed themselves to be. The donors of Dieulouard were determined that the house should be independent of the Spanish jurisdiction. If the monks of the Spanish profession, in whose hands it was, did not or would not become an independent English body of monks, their rights to the Lorraine house should cease. Mr. Pitts, who up to this time had been a supporter of Fr. Bradshaw, believing, no doubt, that the Spanish monks had it in their intention and power to form an English Congregation out of their own body, turned completely round, and looked elsewhere for a nucleus of English Benedictines. On the 20th of August, 1610, he received from Fr. Preston, very likely at his own suggestion, a power of attorney to retake possession of St. Lawrence's,—this time in the name of the monks affiliated to Westminster through Fr. Buckley.

Here we have what looks like an open and unprovoked declaration of war. Perhaps it was meant to be so in reality; perhaps it was only intended to force on the union of all English monks. It is not easy to be quite sure what was in the minds of people separated from us by nearly three centuries. But we do know that Fr. Preston had no love for the Spanish intrigues, and that he had no

sympathy with those who placed their reliance for the conversion of England on Spanish help. He was also a man whose resolution could not be doubted. A threat from him was not likely to be a vain thing. In this instance he had not only the courage but the power to do what he threatened, for he could count on the support of the authorities at Nancy and Dieulouard. He may, therefore, have really meant to eject the Spanish party from St. Lawrence's at once and by force.

On the other hand, he was a strong advocate of union. He wished to see all the English monks banded together and working in harmony for their country. It is more than likely he hoped there would be no need to proceed further than to make use of a threat. The Spanish authorities would not willingly part with St. Lawrence's. Rather than lose possession of it they might feel themselves bound to do something to bring about an understanding between the three English Benedictine bodies. Hitherto, they had shown little anxiety about union. They were quite content to remain subject to the Spanish Congregation—provided they were not obliged to live in Spain. Fr. Preston and Mr. Pitts may have hoped that their action would irritate the Spanish brethren just sufficiently to make them feel the desirability—if not the necessity—of looking beyond themselves.

Let it be said that the first step towards union was taken by monks of the Spanish observance. Some time in the early part of 1609* Fr. Bradshaw went to Rheims to consult with Dr. Gifford and Fr. Leander about the affairs of Douai and Dieulouard. This led to talk of an English Congregation. The terms or conditions of the gift of Dieulouard may have turned or even compelled thoughts that way. Fr. Preston knocked at the door of the room

* The date is fixed by Reyner's statement that Dr. Gifford was then a monk and at the same time Rector of the University at Rheims; also, that Fr. Leander was at the Monastery of St. Remigius.

just when the little conclave was wishing he were present. It looked like a special intervention of Providence, and in the general enthusiasm some articles of Union were easily agreed upon. A few weeks afterwards, at a meeting of the Spanish and Cassinese monks in England, a detailed 'formula unionis' was drawn up. But nothing came of this preliminary essay. It perished of neglect. The next step was taken, most probably, in direct consequence of Fr. Preston's ultimatum sent through Mr. Pitts.

As a rule, the sequence of events in history may be trusted to explain their relations to each other. There is always the probability that what comes after is the consequence of what has gone before. Events may have no relationship whatever; but once grant a connexion and we have a right to infer that this connexion is one of cause and effect. On June 1st, 1610, there was issued the first formal authentic declaration of the donors concerning the gift of St. Lawrence's—a remonstrance against Spanish jurisdiction. No notice seems to have been taken of it; so, on August 12th of the same year, Fr. Preston sent his power of attorney to Mr. Pitts, giving him authority to enter into possession. On February 13th, 1610/11,* that is, six months later, the Superiors of the three Congregations met to draw up fresh articles of Union. Plainly, Fr. Preston's action has had so far a beneficial result. St. Lawrence's has begun to bring about a *rap-brochement* among the three English Benedictine bodies.

* The document in Reyner's Apostolatus is dated February 13th, 1610. All English ecclesiastical documents of this period are Old Style. The English ecclesiastical and legal year began on March 25th. Hence, in an ecclesiastical document, January, February and part of March were always the last months of the year. Historically, therefore, they belong to the year following. Weldon in his Collections, rightly dates this document February 13th, 1611 (New Style). This removes the supposed difficulty of attributing the initials F.N.F. appended to the document to Francis Foster. He signed another document five months later. Mr. Bishop says "F.N.F. can be no other than Fr. Baker himself." But surely Fr. Baker would sign a legal document either with his full name or his initials. One does not use a cryptogram as an official signature.

As might be expected, these articles of Union, drawn up by the representatives of the three bodies, are singularly fair, generous and practical. The new Congregation is to be called that of "the Monks of the English Mission." Six "definitores electores," three from the Spanish fathers and three from the Cassinese and English monks conjointly, are to draw up Constitutions and elect a Common Superior. All property is to be in the name and for the benefit of the Monks of the English Mission—gifts for special purposes excepted. There will be a common treasurer bound to render a strict account to the Superior general. Meanwhile, until the Superior is elected, things are to remain as before, except that the two convents of Douai and Dieulouard are to be open "*tam ad habitum, quam ad professionem*" to all Benedictine English monks. The inmates are always to conform to the customs and rules of the convent in which they may happen to be living. The one objection to this form of Union, according to Fr. Leander, was the supposed impossibility of obtaining the consent of the Superiors in Spain. Fr. Bradshaw undertook to obtain it, but it is not certain that he made any effort to do so. The affair collapsed once again through indifference and neglect.

Nothing disheartened, Fr. Anselm Beech sent a modification of these proposals from Rome. There was very good sense in this fresh scheme. It was expressly designed to meet the objections of those who (whilst admitting the desirability of union) hesitated to change their old Congregation for a new one. The English Congregation was to come into existence gradually. Future professions of Englishmen were to be all of them for the new Congregation and no other. The English-Spanish and English-Cassinese were thus to be permitted to die out. Meanwhile, for the present, things would continue as they were, and a biennial Superior for Dieulouard would be chosen alternately from the two mother Congregations.

The Cassinese Congregation gave a ready assent to this their own proposition, but the Spanish Fathers held back. At this date there was only one kind of union they were willing to consider. As Abbot Cavarel wrote later, union amongst brethren ought not to be a difficult matter—"Water easily mingles with water and the river easily absorbs the brooks into itself." But the question was, which was to be the river and which the brook—who was to absorb and who to be absorbed? He, with the Spanish Fathers, could only understand a Union in which the greater body—the Spanish—swallowed up the lesser. That, of course, was a simple matter, if only the lesser body or bodies quietly consented to be assimilated. Unfortunately, or fortunately, they had a fixed idea that a union meant a fusion, in which all existing bodies sacrificed their identity to bring into existence a new body—an independent English Congregation. The advantage of the Spanish yoke was not clear to them; nor was the disinterestedness of Spain or of the Spanish party.

It seems likely that the three Congregations would have dropped all notion of union, and gone on their separate ways, leaving the solution of the question to the law of the survival of the fittest, but for the monastery of St. Lawrence's in Lorraine. To whom was it to belong? The donors had protested against Spanish jurisdiction over it. Fr. Leander and the Spanish monks, however, had actual possession of it. Would they, or could they be turned out? They did not wish to lose it. It was, so far, their only secure foothold out of Spain. Some of their members had spent money on it. They do not seem to have believed it would be taken from them. It may be they thought their opponents would not dare to proceed to extremity. Possession, if not nine-tenths of the law, is a sort of dead weight which can only be stirred by the use of actual force—surely unbecoming among brethren. Fr. Preston's

power of attorney to Mr. Pitts was, perhaps, forgotten, or it may have seemed to them ridiculous. He was a Cassinese monk, and the Italians had no better legal claim to Dieulouard than the Spaniards. But they had overlooked the little body of Westminster monks—Abbot Cavarel politely said of them “Anglicani nulli sunt”—who did fulfil the conditions of the donors which the Spanish Fathers refused to carry out. They were undoubtedly an independent Congregation of English Benedictines. They unquestionably had a right in Dieulouard. Mr. Pitts therefore took possession of St. Lawrence’s in their name on May 8th, 1612.

Check called, with checkmate threatened and only to be averted by a sacrifice, was the position after this move. There was nothing unfair or unseemly about it. Frs. Bradshaw and Leander had laid themselves open to it. The donors had a right to see that the conditions they had laid down were carried out. Mr. Pitts met with no opposition. The Prior, Fr. Appleby, had left the monastery. His presence could not have kept out Mr. Pitts, since the French officials, lay and clerical, were prepared to take action, if called upon, in his support. Moreover, the Community as a whole was on the English side.

At last the Spanish party recognized the need to make concessions. An advance on their part was imperative. Fr. Leander, who had succeeded Fr. Bradshaw as Vicar-General, came forward with a scheme of Union formulated by the Spanish fathers. It went by the name of the Union of the Four Articles. In it something was conceded—ungracefully. It was a move simply to avert defeat. To call it a Union is a misnomer; it was simply a *modus vivendi*, which might serve for awhile, but could satisfy no one.

In effect, the scheme gave equal rights in St. Lawrence’s to the monks of the Spanish profession and of Westminster. The name of the joint body was to be “The Spanish

Mission or Congregation." The monks of Westminster were to be limited to twelve, and kept up to that number by a fresh aggregation when any member died. When the English schism came to an end, the brethren would be permitted to make a final choice between England and Spain. No notice whatever was taken of the Cassinese monks. This was an ungraceful omission; but to be fair to Fr. Leander it should be remembered that the least concession on the part of the Spanish monks was looked upon by them as a favour. They believed themselves to be still in so superior a position as to be able to make what terms they chose. They could not exactly dictate to those over whom they had no authority; but why should they permit others, weaker than themselves both in numbers and influence, to interfere with them?

Fr. Leander, personally, was one of the most generous and reasonable of men. But he did not care to make concessions under compulsion. No one does; least of all a Superior in charge of grave interests. It was a duty of his, quite as sacred to him as the welfare of English Benedictinism, to defend and promote the interests of the Body committed to his charge. He had sympathy with the Westminster monks, as he showed; but he must be scrupulously faithful to his own Valladolid Congregation. Could he have made any other proposals than he did?

With diffidence, since it is quite impossible for anyone writing nowadays not to be influenced in his judgment by the course of after events, it may be said that the Leander Union was unworthy of him. Why brush the Cassinese brethren rudely aside as though of no consequence? Certainly, the half-dozen or so Italian monks and their little property—Mr. Fitzherbert's bequest had left them better off in proportion to their numbers than the Spanish Fathers—would be no very great acquisition. The Spanish monks could very easily do without them. But they were Englishmen and Benedictines, and for

that, if for no other reason, they deserved consideration. There may have been no insult intended by it, but this ignoring of them was like haughtily looking over their heads—a bit of bad manners quite as irritating as an expression of contempt. It must have been even more irritating to see the Spanish monks adopting the Westminster brethren and with them the Westminster succession, without so much as saying “by your leave” to those who had taken the trouble to secure it. It was ungenerous to say the least of it.

As for the arrangement itself, the most that can be said of it is that it would serve for a year or two. It settled the Dieulouard controversy in a fashion. Fr. Leander and his party could keep possession of the place in the name of the twelve Westminster monks, now a part of themselves. But all future English Benedictine growth was to be of the Valladolid Congregation as long as the English schism lasted. Until then there would be no possible development of an English Congregation. It was finally and absolutely restricted to twelve monks. One is bound to admire Fr. Leander's loyalty to his own Congregation, but his own country and countrymen had, at the least, a claim to an equal share of his allegiance. His policy was narrow and short-sighted. The connexion with Spain was already becoming more of a burden than a help. It counted against the monks rather than for them, both in France and in England, with Catholics as well as with Protestants. It was fast becoming of doubtful value even in Flanders. English students no longer flocked to the Spanish monasteries. The movement had been an abnormal one, created by such unpleasant circumstances that even the Benedictines who had profited by them could not wish for their recurrence. One man's loss may be another man's gain; but no one should count upon such losses to better his business, or reckon on them as future assets. The Benedictines could not and would not be kept alive by

secessions from the Secular Colleges. Even if Fr. Leander's scheme had prevailed, each succeeding year would have found the Benedictines more English and less Spanish. In a very short time the connexion with St. Martin's at Compostella or St. Benedict's at Valladolid would have been no more real and practical than the connexion with Westminster Abbey, and then which would appeal most strongly to the loyalty of Englishmen? The monks would find themselves cherishing the tie which bound them to their own country and straining at the foreign yoke. For, sooner or later, the Spanish jurisdiction would have become to them an irksome restriction. It would naturally irritate them to be governed by a General who could have but an imperfect knowledge of their affairs,—if, indeed, he took more than an amateurish interest in them. They would be compelled, in the interests of the English mission, to assert their independence. The right to elect their own Superiors would be found to be a necessity, and would be demanded by them as it had been demanded by the English Cluniac monks before the Reformation. Perhaps these assertions will not be deemed by the reader very convincing; we cannot “look into the seeds of time and say which seed will grow and which will not,” much less can we say how the seeds would have behaved under imaginary conditions. But we can look into the past and try to read the lesson it teaches us. And there we find Englishmen, under very similar circumstances, claiming the right of election and a share of independence—claiming it as the privilege of a Benedictine and the necessity of an Englishman; and in the end seizing, by summary methods, the liberty their foreign Superiors could not legally grant, however their good will or their good sense may have urged them to do so.



CHAPTER XI.

Clamour and Confusion.

It would serve no good purpose to record the bitter opposition which this so-called Union met with in certain quarters. The Spanish General and Chapter, of course, approved of it; it put everybody and everything into their hands. He and his Chapter had the right of appointment, either directly or through the Vicar, to every position and office in the so-called Mission or Congregation. Without approving of it, for the sake as they hoped of the common good, with the consciousness that they were sacrificing

their own cherished hopes, the Westminster monks, Maihew and Sadler, gave in their adhesion. A week later, Fr. Baker, and a good deal later still, Frs. Bagshaw and Clement Reyner subscribed to it. The Spanish General Chapter thereupon, on May 5th, 1613, appointed Fr. Leander Jones Vicar General, Fr. Maihew one of his assistants, and Fr. Sadler the Vicar in England. Fr. Foster and others withheld their signatures because they were uncertain in what sense the articles were to be understood. On account of this discussion the Union was not promulgated in England, nor had it the approval of the Holy See. Taking advantage therefore of its only partial acceptance and authority, Fr. Anselm Beech procured from Pope Paul V the approval and promulgation of an entirely different scheme of Union drawn up by himself.

Roma locuta est; causa finita est. This was naturally the attitude of most of the English Benedictines at first. Fr. Leander and his party were sadly depressed; the Cassinese, the Westminster monks, and their friends were highly elated; we, in these days, can feel neither one way nor the other. Fr. Leander may certainly be reckoned to have brought his trouble on himself: he had overlooked the Cassinese in his arrangements; they had now overlooked him. He had believed his own arrangement to be just, if not generous; they had tried, in spite of provocation, to be scrupulously fair. There is this to be said of Fr. Anselm's scheme: that, in the end, it would have worked out satisfactorily and left, as a residue, the same English Benedictine Congregation which actually came into existence. But there is this to be said against it: that it could only have done so after years of dissatisfaction and constraint. For it must be admitted that the Spanish Fathers had been treated with scant courtesy. They had, as the Holy See admitted by withdrawing the Bull, a right to be consulted, before the very form and meaning of their

vows were interfered with. In its action Rome had believed it was doing them a grateful service, and perhaps it had been ; but they did not see it.

It is as well to state just exactly what all the trouble was about. The Spanish party were aggrieved, first of all and chiefly, and justly, because they had not been consulted before the Holy See issued its mandate. Secondly, because they were cut off from the Spanish jurisdiction—protection and assistance, they said, but these were rapidly becoming more and more unreal and imaginary. Thirdly, because they were given no choice but to join the new English Congregation or retire to their Spanish monasteries. Lastly, because the Cassinese and the Westminster monks were treated on terms of equality with themselves—still a dire offence in the eyes of many. There was nothing much else in the Anselmian Union which could be objected to. Each monastery retained its own customs as long as it remained abroad—a point of the Leander scheme. A neat stroke, and one that reads nowadays like a piece of irony, was the provision that, whilst St. Lawrence's and other monasteries had independence and election of Superiors, St. Gregory's and Marchiennes College were permitted to remain dependent on Spain, and their Superiors were to be appointed by the Spanish General Chapter.

The Roman decree was published on the 12th of May, 1614,* and the nuncios of France and Belgium were commanded to see that it was carried into effect. Fr. Bradshaw at once gave in his submission, and so did Fr. Walgrave of Chelles and, says Reyner, “the Prior of Dieulouard and his whole community.”

Though we may not have much sympathy with the Spanish party, let us admit that they had a serious grievance. Dr. Gifford thought so, and it was through his advice and influence that Fr. Leander and the Spanish

* It was issued on the 3rd of February, 1614. (Reyner, Script. XXXVI.)

monks moved to have a hearing in Rome. Cardinal Bentivoglio, then nuncio in Flanders, was with little difficulty brought to see the reasonableness of this request. Fr. Benedict Jones was then commissioned to present their case to the Holy See, and in spite of Fr. Anselm's opposition and that of Fr. Sigebert Bagshaw, who represented the English Congregation, a new decree, dated 15th of January, 1615, was obtained rescinding the Anselmian Union.

Meanwhile, the position of the opposing parties was completely changed, and this through St. Lawrence's at Dieulouard. It had now passed into the hands of the English monks. Fr. Maihew had assumed the Priorship.* Under the Leander Union Fr. Foster had been appointed by the Spanish General prior of the house, but had never entered into possession. As a matter of fact he had never accepted the Leander Union, and was consequently ineligible.† From the Spanish point of view Dieulouard was without a Prior when Maihew took possession. Fr. Appleby had no longer any authority even from the Spanish General Chapter. Later, he and Fr. Nicholas Beckett the novice-master, and Swithbert Lathom a novice, were excluded from the monastery by a decree of the House-chapter. Fr. Nicholas Fitzjames associated himself with Fr. Maihew in this rejection of Spanish dependence, and stayed for a short time at St. Lawrence's. The other members of the Community were Lawrence Reyner, Dunstan Pettinger, Alban Roe, Bernard Edmunds and Francis Constable, with George Gaire, Sigebert Bagshaw, and Clement Reyner, novices. Fr. Constance Matthews was probably there, but of this it is not possible to be certain. There were also two oblates.

* With the consent and by the election of the Community with Fr. Appleby at the head. V. Fr. Maihew's Letter to Fr. Leander Jones.

† Douai MSS., copied by Fr. Gilbert Dolan.

Here, then, was a strong, organized band of English Benedictines opposed to the Spanish jurisdiction. The monks of Dieulouard—then all of the Spanish profession—had thrown in their lot with the monks of Westminster to form an English Congregation. They had a House of their own. They had monks on the English Mission, at St. Malo, at Chelles, at Paris, at Remiremont, even at Fontevraud (Fr. Amandus Venner). It could no longer be said “the English are nobodies.” They were now a powerful body which could face the Spanish monks on nearly even terms. By the advice of Fr. Anselm, sent from Rome, a Chapter of the English Congregation was held at Dieulouard, in which Fr. Sadler was elected President and Fr. Maihew was made Vicar of all the English monks abroad; he remained at Dieulouard acting as its Prior. Afterwards, the decree of the Pope rescinding the Anselmian Union ordered that all monks should return to their original obedience; but it was held that St. Lawrence’s had never rightly belonged to the Spanish Congregation. To make this more abundantly clear, the donors of the monastery repeated in much stronger language their declaration of 1610, that the monastery was given to the English Benedictine monks, whoever they might be, that it was to be an independent English Benedictine House, and subject in no way to Spanish Superiors. The Spanish Superiors were not even to be permitted to enter into the house as guests, for fear they might succeed in exercising authority there. This document is dated June 5th, 1615.

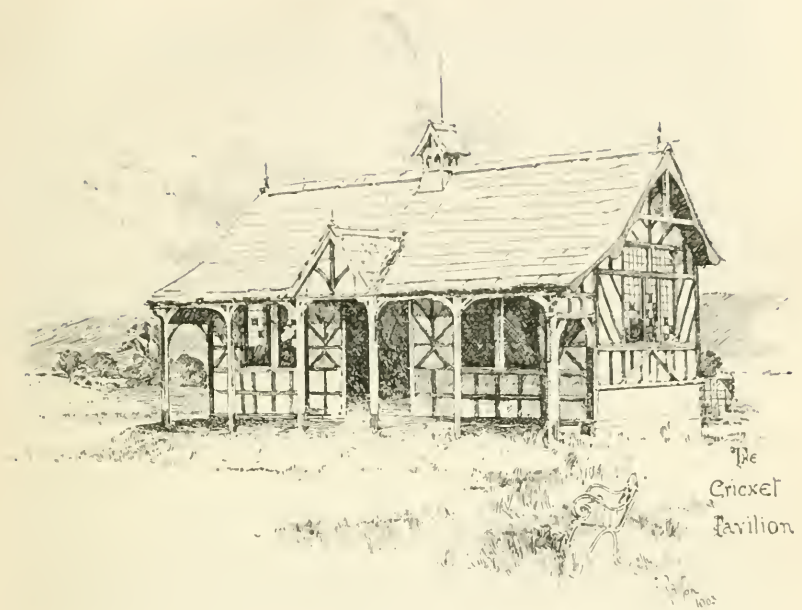
Fr. Maihew has been blamed for his action at this crisis. He has been called *un extravagant*. This is unjust to him. Like all strong men he was not an easy adversary to deal with. His attitude at the moment may seem arrogant, but it was the fault of his position and not of himself. The Anselmian Union had been promulgated by the Holy See. Under this Union he had been made

Vicar of all English monks out of England. He had a right, therefore, as long as the Union was in force, to demand their obedience. "Our Congregation," "Our house at Dieulouard," "Our President," "Our Procurator in Rome," were titles and descriptions warranted by Papal and Capitular sanction when he made use of them. If he had not so asserted himself he would have been untrue to the brethren, Spanish as well as English, who had elected him Superior. What are called his pretensions rested on nothing less solid than a mandate from the Pope. Let us admit a mistake had been made; it was not Maihew's. When the Holy See recognized the mistake and recalled its decree, Maihew was strictly obedient to the Papal order to return to the Congregation of his profession. He at once surrendered his obedience to Fr. Anselm Beech, the resident of the English monks. It was by Fr. Anselm's instructions he remained at Dieulouard and held the Chapter which excluded Fr. Appleby and Fr. Beckett from the House. As for the possession of Dieulouard none had a better right to it than he and his monks. As long as they were subject to the Spanish authorities, Fr. Leander and his party had neither legal nor just claim to it. They, or at least some of them, held that, with the revocation of the Anselmian Union, the one-sided Union of Four Articles came again into force. But this was a real extravagance; it is quite impossible to read into the command of the Holy See that each monk should return to the Congregation of his profession, an order for the English monks to accept the Spanish obedience.

A straightforward, determined man, with more of the courage of the soldier than the finesse of the politician, submissive and aggressive, bold and humble, by turns, in obedience to the call of duty, Fr. Maihew was one whose character must always command the respect of those who try to understand him. He was wholly unselfish in all that he did. He had no craving for position; all his life

through he showed that it was as easy for him to obey as to command. Neither was he of a quarrelsome nature. For the sake of peace and union he had, in signing the Four Articles, courageously sacrificed his private ideal of an English Benedictine Congregation. What this meant to him we cannot realize now. The English Congregation, to him whom Fr. Buckley had clothed with the habit in the Gatehouse of Westminster, was a sacred trust, a mission received direct from God. He had faith in it—faith great enough to leave it in God's hands to be brought about in His own good time. Meanwhile, he, in his own person, would go through fire and water to serve it. He was an enthusiast, but only like the Psalmist who "loved the glory of God's house and the place where His glory dwelleth." That to him was the Benedictine Order in England. But this enthusiasm had no taint of extravagance; his ideal was a practical one, not in any sense the dream of a visionary. He had the happiness to see it realized in his life-time—more fully, perhaps, than he had ever hoped.* If he had a fault it was the natural result of his single-mindedness. He had a difficulty in seeing how people could think differently from himself. But he was humble enough to judge no one unkindly or ungenerously. Concessions from an adversary always disarmed him. In this very dispute, after his frank hostility to Spanish pretensions, when Fr. Leander, in obedience to the Pope's command, drew up fresh proposals of Union, he wrote at once, in the friendliest spirit, to say that "*paucis demptis et additis*" he would at once subscribe to them.

* His so-called "many misadventures" is a meaningless piece of rhetoric. In every way he was a singularly successful man.



CHAPTER XII.

Union at East.

THE fiasco of the Anselmian Union had some excellent results. It settled the scruples which had troubled the minds of some of the monks concerning their vow of stability in their Congregation; the Holy See had taken it upon itself to overrule this promise for the sake of building up a new English Congregation. It brought home to the Spanish fathers the need of treating their other English brethren on terms of something like equality with themselves. It delayed the solution of the difficulties long enough for some of them to disappear altogether and others to be seen in a new light. It made evident the personal interest of Pope Paul V in Union, and, moreover, by his withdrawal of a Bull "under the seal of the Fisherman" already promulgated, his care to be, not only scrupulously just, but

delicately considerate of rights and prejudices. But the great result was, that in order to repair his admitted mistake, His Holiness was most anxious to bring about the Union with as little delay as possible. To this end, he ordered the three Congregations, Spanish, Cassinese and English, to send instructed and accredited representatives to Rome to present their views to the Sacred Congregation. It quickly became apparent, when this was done, that the Spanish and English Congregations would easily come to an agreement. Further, the heads of the two Congregations, and also the Fathers on the English Mission, separately, had made the very practical suggestion that nine Definitors, elected indiscriminately from all English Benedictines by a plurality of suffrages, should be deputed to draw up a concordat, elect Superiors, and decree the necessary Constitutions. This unobjectionable, wholly reasonable solution of the difficulty so appealed to the Cardinals in charge of the business, that they straightway ordered it to be carried out, whether the Cassinese brethren fell in with it or not.

Fr. Anselm Beech and his party could not be brought to believe they would be fairly treated in such an arrangement and they stood out. This is regrettable. They might have had more faith in the generosity of their English brethren. But they believed it would be the "Union of the Four Articles" over again.

Times, however, were changed. There was no talk now of the Spanish Succession. No one now looked to Spain to bring England back to the Faith. Even in Flanders the power of the Archduke was on the wane. Three years back, Fr. Leander could not see how any serious concession by the Spanish Fathers was possible. Now he admits, but regrets, the possibility. Two years later, Spanish jurisdiction will have become a mere matter of sentiment with him. Three years later still, and the ex-Vicar will be as "English" as Fr. Maihew himself.

This seems a suitable place to estimate just what the English Benedictines owed to their brethren in Spain. The Valladolid Congregation freely and graciously welcomed and educated a large number of students from the English Colleges, and some forty of them—it is Fr. Leander's estimate—were sent from the Spanish monasteries to the English Mission. Though this was at a time when Spain looked upon England as a future Spanish colony, it was a noble and praiseworthy act. Spanish apathy afterwards left the English of their Congregation, once they had left for the Mission, to look after themselves. There was a home and a welcome for them in Spain in case of sickness or old age; the advantage of which is not much discounted by the fact that there is no record of a missionary availing himself of the privilege. The monks had also such patronage as the Spanish General could give them—useful, on occasion, as in the establishment of St. Gregory's at Douai. Apart from this, there were some promises made to Fr. Leander conditional on continuation under Spanish rule: The sustentation and education of eight or twelve novices; a hope "quasi certa" of pecuniary help (not given so far on account of the controversy); and a "not obscure promise" of the gift of a monastic house in Spain. These vague hopes and intentions were generous and honest enough, no doubt, when made, but, as the event proved, they were no better than "castles in Spain." But, over and above all, the Spanish General and his Chapter at all times showed real magnanimity in their ready and unselfish consent to whatever the English Fathers decided to be best for themselves and their country.

To return to the history of the Union. The true spirit of our old English Fathers—somewhat jealous and distrustful in wordy controversy, rough-spoken and stubborn, but not ungenerous—showed itself when it came to the practical matter of an election. Then there was no thought but to be impartial and even magnanimous. The Roman

brief had decided that the nine Definitors were to be chosen by a simple majority. The Spanish party, which in spite of divided sympathies was greatly predominant, could have carried the election as it wished. It was for the fear of this, in despair of fair treatment, that the Cassinese fathers stood out of the election. But, with a characteristic English love of fair play, the voters, to their great honour, sent to the conclave at the Hotel de St. André, Paris, nine fully and evenly-balanced representative men—representative of each interest and party : Frs. Leander Jones, Rudesind Barlow and Bennet Jones of the Spanish interest ; Frs. Robert Sadler, Edward Maihew and Sigebert Bagshaw of the English Westminster monks ; Dr. Gifford of Dieulouard and St. Malo, Fr. Robert Haddock, Superior of the English Mission, and Fr. Torquatus Lathom, Professor of Philosophy at Douai. No one could feel aggrieved at such a result, except, perhaps, impossible Fr. Walgrave at Chelles.

Given nine men of greatly superior intelligence and learning, trained in different schools, adversaries in a sense, but with strong mutual esteem and the knowledge that they *must* come to an agreement, we can predict, with certainty, a compromise of some kind. Given that these men are Englishmen and monks of the same Order, already joined together by the bonds of patriotism and family, we can predict that the solid part, the kernel of the agreement, will be English Benedictinism, and that the compromise will be jealously arranged so as to preserve this substantially perfect. The English monks of the different Congregations had only to be brought together for the remaining difficulties in the way of Union to lose their potency. They discovered, as might have been expected, that the ties of blood and country were the only reality, and that all the rest was sentiment—very proper and befitting—but lending itself to such modifications as would safeguard everybody's honour and self-respect. Bring such people

to shake hands with each other, and an exchange of compliments will follow as a matter of course. The small compromises agreed to at the meeting were in effect an exchange of compliments. The shaking of hands was the Union of the English monks in a thoroughly English Congregation.

Without wearying the reader with the details of the settlement, here is an outline of it. Out of the Union of English monks is to be born an English Benedictine Congregation; but to soothe Spanish feeling the Spanish habit is to be worn. The Congregation is to be independent, with self-government and Benedictine right of election; but to conciliate the Spanish party, the Spanish General is to be permitted to appoint either the first or second elect as President. Fr. Maihew, Dr. Gifford and the advocates of primitive observance—the Dieulouard party—are to have their way in St. Lawrence's, Chelles and Paris—when the latter is firmly established—and these are to be 'Monasteries;' Fr. Leander and those of the milder Spanish observance are to have their way in St. Gregory's and St. Bennet's, which are classed as 'Colleges' or Houses of Studies. Considerable ingenuity is shown in the way absolute independence is secured, whilst an honorary pre-eminence is given to the Spanish General. Lest the power to choose either of the two elect-Presidents for the Office might on occasion prove an inconvenience—supposing the General to refuse to appoint either—it was decreed that, unless the appointment were made within six months, his right to choose should lapse, and the first elect should step at once into authority. No English monk could assume the title of 'Doctor' without permission of the General—an exercise of jurisdiction honourable, but of no practical importance. Further, the General had the right of Visitation in any English Benedictine monastery in Spain—if he should be kind enough to make the English monks a present of one. The whole arrangement of the English Definitors

may seem a little selfish, offering to the Spanish authorities the shadow and keeping the substance for themselves, an arrangement to get what they could without making any real return ; but the truth is they had come to disbelieve in the usefulness of the connexion with the Spanish Congregation, and what they freely conceded was not in expectation of future benefits, but in acknowledgment of past kindness. The young birds had left the parent nest long enough now, not only to be able, but to be expected, to look after themselves.

The whole business was carried through with perfect friendliness and unanimity, and with considerable dispatch. Sittings commenced on June 1st, 1617. Before October of the same year, a Brief had been prepared in Rome signifying the approval of the Holy See. The Spanish General, in the name of his Congregation, gave formal assent to the Articles on October 17th. Two years passed before the Papal Brief was promulgated, thanks to a French opposition headed by Abbot Cavarel, the Abbess of Chelles, the Nuncio at Paris and others, instigated by Frs. Walgrave and Barnes. The effect of this opposition was the addition to the Brief of a sentence safeguarding any real, possible or supposed rights of other Congregations. The English Benedictine Congregation was finally and formally created on August 23rd, 1619.

Looking back from our distant point of view, it is easy to believe and to understand that, throughout the dissensions, Divine Providence was guiding all things to the desired end. We can believe that our Fathers were the wiser, truer, more earnest, less selfish, better strengthened and more finely tempered, for the troubles through which they had passed. We can believe that the Union was the more perfect for the heat to which it had been subjected : there is no good welding without the hammer ; there is no friendship more lasting than that which springs from a reconciliation after a quarrel. It was no patchwork settle-

ment, this final one. Some tattered remnants of the old state of things were preserved, but only as honoured memories of a bygone past, like ancient flags hung up in a Minster. Perhaps the long dispute about the ownership of Dieulouard may have suggested to the reader the snarling of two dogs over a bone. But it was this very quarrel which brought the Spanish and English monks together. It was this very quarrel which taught them to respect and to love one another. And throughout it all Dieulouard stood strongly for English independence, English brotherhood, and English loyalty to Religion, Country and King.



CHAPTER XIII.

Ways and Means.

A homely, cheerful poverty distinguished St. Lawrence's in its early days. Somehow or other, money was found to rebuild handsomely the long south side of the cloister and the east wing leading into the south transept of the church. The work seems to have been completed before 1621. Tall white-washed rooms, with long square-headed windows, and a vaulted cloister with semi-gothic openings and quaint buttresses of debased style, were the features of the new monastery. A library, the nucleus of which was Archbishop Gifford's collection, was formed on the ground floor of the east wing. House and church were furnished in the scantiest and simplest style. In 1622,* it had not yet been possible to procure dalmatics for the celebration of High Mass. When the Benedictines were driven out at the Revolution the church was rich in works of art. The high altar was of marble—it is described as 'magnifique' by the Revolutionaries—there were richly-carved stalls in the choir, a handsome pulpit and confessional in the nave, a great panelled wardrobe in the sacristy—all "*des boiseries finement sculptées.*" But this was the work of the Benedictines in their more prosperous days, more than a century later. At present there was decent poverty; sometimes even less than that.

For a long time the chief support of the monks was 'alms from England;' this meant not donations merely, but the pensions and dowries of the brethren. But gradu-

* Vide the dispute concerning the confraternity of St. Sebastian. Archives Départementales.

ally the kindness and generosity of the people of the neighbourhood endowed the English with considerable properties. The Bishop of Toul gave an annual pension of 300 francs. The Bishop of Verdun, besides his gift of a garden and of firewood, sent annually 200 francs. The Duke of Lorraine numbered the English monks among his pensioners. Claude Hierosme provost of Dieulouard, Jean de Gourmay, Jean de Latridalle, Claude Villotte, Toussaint Lambert, Louis de Sallens, Diane d'Haussonville, Maussuy, Mariette Thibauld, are only a few of many local benefactors of St. Lawrence's. Fr. Bennet d'Orgain and Fr. Maurus Flutot* brought with them patrimony in the shape of lands and goods. The Bishop of the diocese, Toul, besides his own annual donation and the endowment of the farm of Jaillon obtained from the Canons, at a later Visitation, insisted that the ancient and wealthy Confraternity of St. Sebastian should be re-erected at Dieulouard. The Canons had transferred it and its revenues, together with the relics of the Saint, to Nancy. At the Episcopal Visitation the inhabitants of the village made complaint of this. They pointed out that the foundation was annexed to the two Dieulouard Churches *cum hac cautela* that if the Canons leave or are taken away, the "maistres et gouverneurs de la dict confrairie, par l'advise et consentement des doyen et trésorier qui seront pour le temps, et des confrères, puissent prendre et élire autres Pères, enfans et gens d'église idonnes et suffisants, pour faire dire et célébrer en la dicte église Parochiale &c."† Moreover, the complainants declared that the Canons, after seizing and removing the revenues, made no attempt to fulfil the obligations, except perhaps "unius Pater Noster recitatione." Which, with other statements, and arguments, so convinced the Bishop that he ordered immediate restitution of the property, to be equally divided, with an equal division of the obligations, between the churches of St.

* The farm of Chénicourt.

† Archives Départementales.

Lawrence and St. Sebastian at Dieulouard. As might be expected, the Canons appealed against this decision. But they had a hopeless case. They complained that the Benedictines, in their unfurnished church, could not fitly carry out the obligations. But chiefly they relied on a promise of Fr. Augustine Bradshaw that neither he nor his Order, in consideration of the gift they had received, would ever after make any claim against the Canons, or begin any controversy or action at law. There was no difficulty in meeting this argument. The Benedictines were not bringing any action. It was the *articulus visitationis* which had raised the question. Rome decided in 1622 that the decree of the Bishop should be confirmed and carried out. Though the obligations were onerous, the endowments were ample. It was a god-send to the Community in the days of scarcity.

We find the name of a Madame Pitts appearing in connection with a legacy to Dieulouard—further help, no doubt, from Fr. Arthur Pitts; and a certain M. Arthur Witt or Wite (White?) Curé d'Hattigni, leaves to his countrymen his library and a fourth part of his "deniers" in 1630. We find also in the Archives Départementales frequent mention of small acquisitions of property by the Benedictines, beginning with the purchase of a house, Rue d'Avignon, in 1618. Most of these are tiny parcels of land—"omées de vigne" and "jours de terre"—useful to furnish the tables of the monks. The house, Rue de la Bouillante, was purchased, at the cost of 1300 francs, for the sake of the reservoir for fish in the garden attached to it. These purchases were probably investments of the patrimonies of the monks.

Lawsuits tell us of two considerable local rights possessed by the monks. One was the privilege of "troupeau à part," the right of pasturing their cattle on the commons one hour before the communal flock. This privilege was inherited from the Canons, and was of sufficient impor-

tance to be the occasion of a legal contest between the monastery and the Commune, and also of suits of trespass brought by the monks. A similar manorial right, as vigorously disputed, was the fishery of the Eau Brion,* an arm of the Moselle.

We are now in a position to estimate what life at Dieulouard meant in its early days. Choir duties and studies had, as always, the first and largest place in the daily routine. Outside the cloister, there was work in the garden, vineyards and fields, and fishing in the Moselle. Besides two indoor servants (probably oblate lay-brothers), in 1622 there were only two women labourers employed on the land. The monks as far as possible did everything for themselves. The rule of the house was total abstinence from flesh meat. This made their fishery rights in the Eau Brion, and their reservoir in the Rue de la Bouillante, of the first importance. From an old document we learn that there was free fishing in the Moselle itself and the Chaudrup under certain restrictions. Night lines and basket-traps were forbidden ("sauf au harnais dormant et à voie liante"). But people could fish with the line and rod, with the large hoop-net (trouble), by tickling, with spinners, with floats and with torches,† also "au xépot" (?) and "au marchepied" (?)—whatever they may mean: a fairly extensive liberty. Probably, the special fishing rights of the monks in their own waters permitted the use of the drag-net and other unsportsmanlike methods. Anyway they could easily obtain food. The Moselle, the Eau Brion, and the Chaudrup were full of excellent fish, and the *maigre* fare of the monks could have been only restricted in quality. The canalized river must also have brought cheap salted sea-fish almost to their doors.

* Archives Départementales, Serie H, 57.

† "à la main" "à la toupée;" "au bouchon;" "à la lumière." Notice Historique.

A fairly complete series of Visitation accounts, preserved in the Archives Départementales, is chiefly of interest in recording the flux and reflux, periods of growth and periods of stagnation, alternations of activity and depression, the wave-like movement of the current of life, always restless, ever changing, even when, as in this instance, it is a record of increasing prosperity. In 1622, under Fr. Lawrence Reyner, there were 22 Religious with two servants and two women labourers, and the farm stock was one horse, six cows and two calves; in 1630, there were 26 Religious, three servants, with the same number of cows and two horses. By 1639, the number of Religious had shrunk to 7, but there were six horses and 3 colts (horse-breeding is evidently looked to as a source of income). In 1642, the number of Religious was 10, and the stud had still further increased to 10 horses or mares (home-bred) and five colts. As an estimate of income, outside of farm produce, we may take the account of 1630, when the rent-roll was 1300 francs, the pensions from England 1000 francs, and the annual alms (from the Bishops and Prince) 630 francs. We may judge of the acquisition of property by the account of 1642, when the monks possessed four small houses and farms, 120 acres of arable land, 34 acres of meadow, 2 acres of hemp, 7 of vines and four little orchards. The possessions were not great; the income was not ample in view of the obligations and debts—240 francs of ‘desperate’ debts are recorded by the Procurator in the *status*; but for frugal and contented monks, St. Lawrence’s was now no longer a mere shelter and a refuge, it had become a home.



FROM THE BOWLING GREEN.



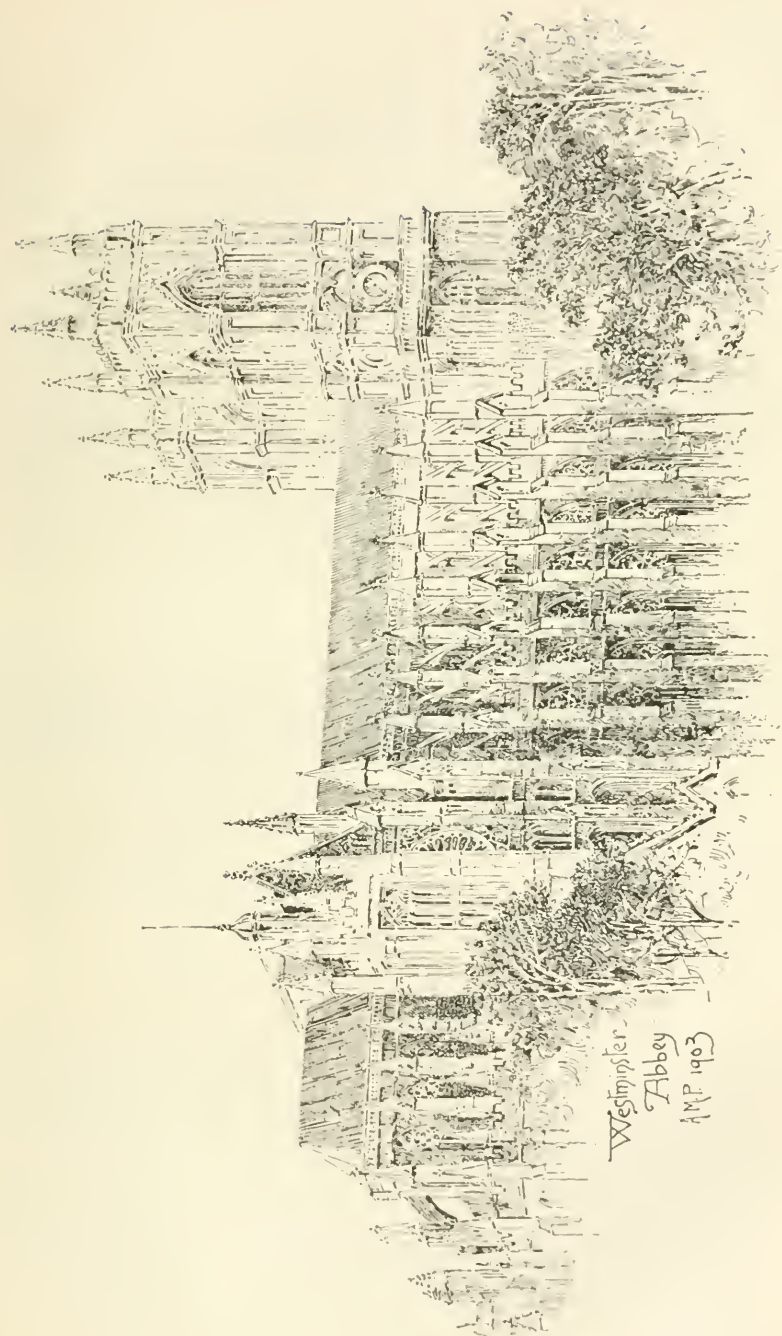
CHAPTER XIV.

Men of Renown: Laurentian Writers.

THERE is usually something of the adventurer in all great men, and more particularly, perhaps, in all great monks. The qualities which shine before the world are, for the most part, a forced growth—forced, not in sheltered comfort, by skilful nurture, but in stress of opposition, by the urgency of necessity; hardihood, enterprise, strength, resourcefulness, shrewdness, self-confidence, the gifts which lift a man above his fellows, are the products, not of quiet and rest, but of conflict and emulation, of distress and difficulty. In the history of a monastic Order or House, the periods of cloistered prosperity are uneventful; the saintly eminence of its inmates is of a kind which human history

does not, and, indeed, need not, trouble itself to record; distinguished names are few, and those few invariably achieve their distinction outside the convent walls. It is chiefly in the troubled beginnings of things, the roofless days of penury and hardship, or in the days of persecution and trial when an enemy is beating at the gates, that one may expect to meet with notable characters and illustrious achievements. History is interested only in the exceptional, and the exceptional in a monastery or a monk nearly always comes from without. There may indeed be internal revolutions in the shape of reforms and re-constructions. But, generally, it is contact and conflict with the world which brings a monk's name into historical prominence. And here it is gifts and qualities other than strictly monastic virtues which stand him in good stead. Yet it can be laid down as an axiom that a man can never be a really great monk unless he is a good one. His contact with outside affairs must ennoble and not degrade him. He should be no less a monk, though, perhaps, something more of a man.

In the history of Dieulouard its greatest sons were its founders. Gifford, Maihew, Sadler, Baker, intractable Walgrave, the two Reyners, even the Venerable Alban Roe, the martyr, were all pioneers who owed their eminence not to the quiet of the cloister, but to the disturbances and difficulties of its beginnings. They were makers of their house and also of the English Benedictine Congregation, who built strongly because their work was accomplished in the storm and not in the sunshine. They did great things because they were strong themselves, and their strength grew out of the greatness of their task. A band of fearless men, they learnt how to do a thing by doing it, and did it well because they did not fear to spend themselves in the task. Leaders of forlorn hopes they may not be called, because of their faith in their cause and their trust in God. But they were ready to



Westminster
Abbey
A.P. 1903

advance and to act, when they could not see their way before them.

Archbishop Gifford's history has been sufficiently told. Of Walgrave's subsequent career, always that of one who sought out adventure, a few remaining facts will be noted later. Of Sadler nothing more need be said, save that he and Maihew, with Baker and Foster and the other Westminster monks, formally affiliated themselves to St. Lawrence's in order to endow it with the rights and privileges of the great English Abbey. Through them Ampleforth Abbey is the direct heir of the Royal English Monastery, and though the inheritance is a shadowy succession, little better than an ancestral estate passed into alien hands, the honour of a lineal descent from Westminster Abbey is a patent of nobility as proud as that of a pedigree dating back to the Conqueror. Enough, however, has been said of the Westminster monks. But the literary work of Maihew and Baker deserves something more than a word of comment. Their writings were an event in Benedictine history.

Fr. Edward Maihew's education was the ordinary clerical course of a priest of the Mission in the English Colleges of Douai, Rheims and Rome. He was born at Dinton, Salisbury, and went, first, with his brother Henry to Douai. Afterwards, he spent five years at Rheims and Verdun, and five at Rome. He was ordained in Rome at the age of 24, and was twelve years a priest before he received the Benedictine habit. He came before the public as an author, anonymously, in 1608, by a book entitled "A Treatise on the grounds of the old and newe Religion &c.,"—a quarto volume which attracted attention at the time and deserved to do so. It provoked a reply from Dr. Thomas James, Sub-Dean of Wells, and also from Richard Field. His next book was a *Manuale* or Ritual according to the Sarum rite.* In 1613 he published an

* In Maihew's own list the phrase runs "secundum usum sacrum."

English prayer book called A "Paradise of Praiers," a charming little book, the forerunner, in the prayers selected for translation, and to some extent in its form, of Bishop Challoner's "Garden of the Soul." In his preface Maihew tells its history. "Being desirous some few yeares since during the time of Lent to intermit mine ordinarie course of studies touching controversies, and to spend those few weekes of penance and recollection partlie in some pious exercise which might be profitable to my poor afflicted country; and moreover finding that sundrie excellent praiers written in Latine, were not yet published in our English tongue: I resolved to gather into one English worke, certain selected praiers dispersed in the Latine bookes of many authors." The book contains an abbreviated Invitatory to be recited before the Mass, the Jesus Psalter, the most of what are usually called our old English prayers, and also the serving at Mass, where the server is told as a general instruction "whether thou give or receave alwaies do reverence to the priest with bowing thy head or making a legge." Except for the quaint, fervent expressions of old English speech, its antiquity would hardly be recognized. Two small controversial works are mentioned by Maihew in his own list as having been written by him, but there is no evidence that they were ever printed. Lastly, there is his *magnum opus*, the "Congregationis Anglicanæ Ordinis S. Benedicti Trophæa." Maihew tells us in the Preface that he began this work when he was 44 years of age. It was finished in 1625; he therefore spent eleven years in its compilation. By his own account he went to Dieulouard

There is such a Manual in the Ampleforth Library. It was clearly intended for our English Benedictine Fathers, to be used both as a Ritual and a pocket Missal. It has a proper Preface of St. Benedict, who is the only saint with a votive Mass. There is also a separate and interesting burial service for Benedictine Monks. The book, a small 8vo, has lost its title page, but was evidently printed at Douai, c. 1611.

in 1613 and remained there eight years as Prior. The book may be looked upon, therefore, as the literary labour of his priorship. It is no exaggeration to speak of it as a splendid work. It shows considerable learning and research. It is written in easy and fluent Latin, and has that impress of personality which is found in everything that Maihew wrote. He is speaking to the reader throughout the book. One feels his sincerity, his earnestness and his unaffected piety in every word. He believes that what the English Benedictines did in the past they may do again; but only if they are faithful to their institute. He does not hesitate to say that the old monks had brought their ruin upon themselves. "Et unde hæc omnia mala ortum habuerunt? Non possum aliud dicere, quam ex neglectu regularis observantiae: nimirum eo quod prædecessores nostri Monachi Benedictini juxta S. Benedicti Regulam paulatim vivere neglexerunt. Hoc fuit malorum omnium quæ nobis supervenerunt initium, hæc eorum causa." A book less offensive in style and intention and matter it would be difficult to conceive. Fr. Maihew died the very year of its complete publication, but he had lived long enough to be astonished at the storm he had unwittingly raised. As Fr. Leander wrote in Reyner's *Apostolatus*, if a man should read the book a hundred times, he would be unable to find a contentious or hurtful word in it. He likens the objector, who professed to find venom in certain of its expressions, to a spider which, passing over the honey, manages to suck *virus et venenum* out of the healthiest plant. Nevertheless, the book was savagely attacked by Frs. Barnes and Walgrave, "autor et editor" of the *Examen Trophæorum*, and over it the enemies and defenders of the newly-erected English Benedictine Congregation joined issue. The *Apostolatus*, which was written in answer to the *Examen* was less a defence of Maihew's book—which, in reality, needed no defence—

than a crushing attack upon the position taken up by Walgrave and Barnes. But the ashes of this extinct controversy do not need to be disturbed here.

Another great literary name among the first sons of St. Lawrence's is that of Fr. Augustine Baker. He never lived at Dieulouard, although he was formally affiliated to it and counted himself, and was counted, one of its monks. He was a convert; but the story of his conversion has been so often and so recently told that it need not be repeated.* Of the events of his life, it will be sufficient to note that he was born at Abergavenny in 1575; was educated at Christ's Hospital and Broadgate's Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford; became a lawyer; made his noviciate in Padua; was professed in England; and spent the most notable portion of his life as Chaplain to the Benedictine nuns at Cambrai. He has been reproached with shrinking from the special English-Benedictine work of the Mission, but though he believed himself wholly unfitted for it, at the call of obedience, he went to London and lived at Holborn with a Mr. Watson,† doing duty in the Royal Chapel at Somerset House. There, as Sir W. Earle said in Parliament (13th February, 1628), "Besides the Queen's Mass there are two other Masses daily in the Queen's Court, so that it is grown common with the outfacing Jesuits and common in discourse: 'Will you go to Mass?' or 'Have you been at Mass in Somerset House?' there coming 500 at a time from Mass." Fr. Baker died in Gray's Inn Lane, August 9th 1641.

That something of the spirit of adventure which urged the first Laurentians into unused paths had entered into the claustral, contemplative soul of Fr. Baker may be judged from the suspicion cast upon the soundness of his doctrine by some excellent religious men. Fr. Baker, as

* Vide the Ampleforth Journal, Vol. IV. pp. 60-63.

† The Dictionary of National Biography says he was first Chaplain to Mr. Watson and then in Holborn. The above is from the Oxford MS. Life of Baker.



FR. AUGUSTINE BAKER, O.S.B.

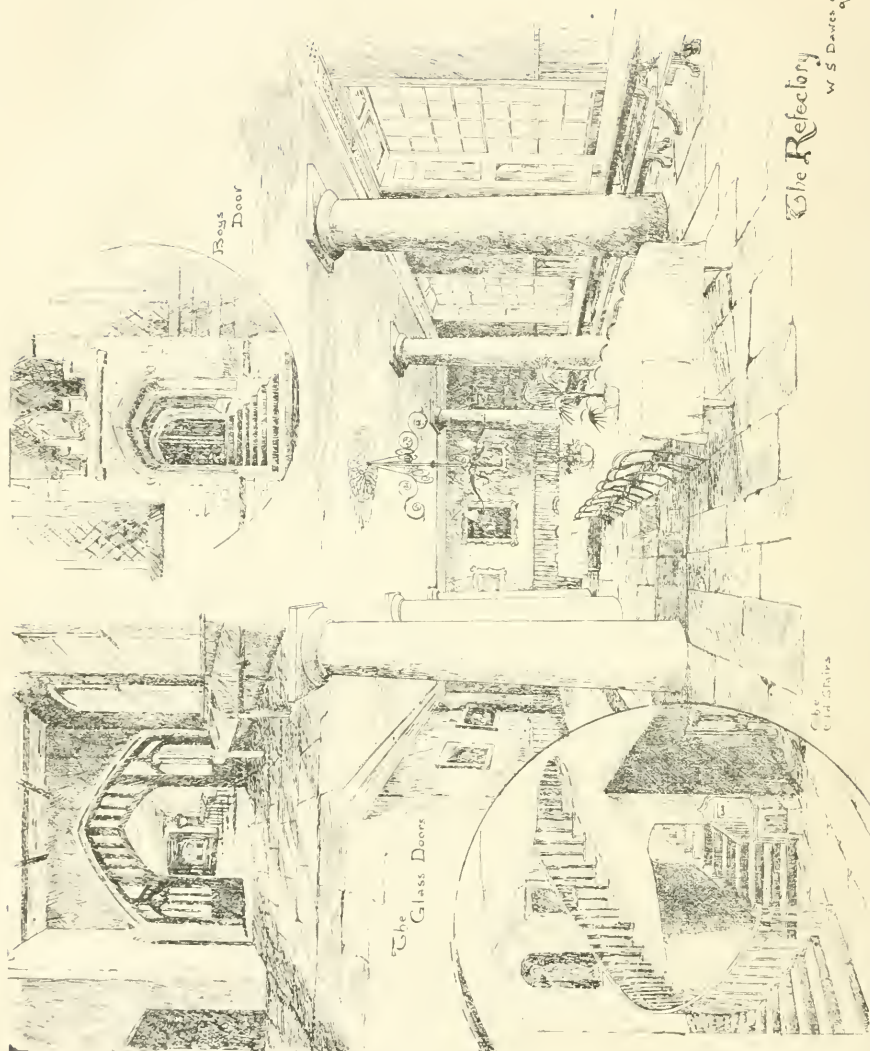
is well known, wrote a good many spiritual works of a mystical tendency. Why he wrote them, a passage from a letter of his to Sir Robert Cotton will explain.* Speaking of the Benedictine Nuns in his charge, he writes: "They are in number as yet but 29. They are inclosed and never seen by us nor by anni other unlesse it be rarelie uppon an extraordinarie occasion, but uppon no occasion maie they go furth, nor maie anie man or woman gette in unto them. Yet I have my diet from them and uppon occasions conferre with them, but see not one another; and live in a house adjoining to them. Their lives being contèmplicative the common bookes of the world are not for their purpose, and little or nothing in thes daies printed in English that is proper for them. There were manie good English bookes in olde time wherof thoughte they have some, yet they want manie, and thereuppon I am in their behalf become an humble suitor unto you, to bestowe on them such bookes as you please, either MS. or printed, being in English, contèining contemplations, Saints lives, or other devotions." What answer Sir Robert Cotton made to this appeal is not recorded. But, in the dearth of printed books or MS. copies of well-known spiritual treatises, Fr. Baker devoted himself to the writing of a great course of mystical teaching, some of it being the translation of chapters and passages from men like Taulerus, but the most of it a system of his own. In it, at least in the more advanced treatises, after the A.B.C. has been passed, "I know not whether I should say more wisely or more boldly, perhaps both wisely and boldly and freely"—to use his own phrase—Fr. Baker broke new ground. Naturally, by doing so, he laid himself open to criticism as an innovator. His doctrine was called in question almost from the outset. The General Chapter of 1629 appointed Fr. Leander Jones and Fr. Clement Reyner to read and revise the books already written. This they did and, after certain excisions and corrections, formally approved of them.

* Quoted in the Dictionary of National Biography.

The same Chapter appointed Fr. Francis Hull, chaplain of the Benedictine Dames of Cambrai. Fr. Baker was not removed. Seemingly, he was permitted to hear the Confessions of those who wished his direction. For awhile the arrangement acted well. Fr. Baker's gentle mysticism attracted and satisfied some. Fr. Hull's austere asceticism attracted and satisfied others. Both were doing an excellent work. The Lady Abbess and Dame Gertrude More looked upon Fr. Baker as specially sent by God for their peculiar guidance; Fr. Baker said of Fr. Hull that, with some of the Sisters, "he hath taken as great pains as would be scarce credible to others and hath given them and still doth all possible satisfaction. . . . And I most willingly acknowledge that I have not the skill nor ability spiritual and corporal to satisfy them so well as he can, nor to satisfy them at all."* It was an ideal arrangement until the one began to make converts of the disciples of the other. Then these two excellent directors crossed swords. Fr. Baker wrote a still more advanced treatise, marked with the letter K—his spiritual treatises began with the A.B.C. and progressed with the letters of the alphabet—on spiritual direction and directors; Fr. Hull "made a sermon (that lasted about the space of an hour and a quarter, that was so austere, frightful and terrible even to all or the greater part of the house) and made with such vehemence of spirit that they were almost all of them troubled and grieved at it."† As soon as the good sisters had begun to sort themselves into two camps, the situation became an impossible one. The best of saints must have fallen out in such circumstances. Of course, there were mutual recriminations, apologetically expressed, and, of course, there were the usual appeals to the President and the

* Rawlinson MSS.

† Fr. Baker's letter to the President General. Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian.



General Chapter. The General Chapter of 1633 finally decided in favour of Fr. Baker; and the President sent him on the Mission.

To be just to Fr. Baker, though he was accused of valuing his mystical writings unduly and did value them greatly, he never for a moment resented the criticism or corrections of those who had a right to pass a judgment on his works. He was a model of humility and obedience to his Superiors. He destroyed the treatise K which Fr. Hull looked upon as a personal attack. He was the gentlest and most peaceful of men, although he did not shirk controversy and does not appear to have been greatly distressed when forced into it. He could defend himself ably. He could even hit hard and straight in a measured unemotional style. But with the real trouble over his books he had nothing to do. It came about after his death. Whether unrevised versions, or unapproved sections, of his works were made use of by the Dames at Cambrai is not evident from the correspondence.* But the President General, Fr. Claude White, demanded that the mystical treatises should all be placed in his hands and submitted to his judgment. This the good sisters could not bring themselves, or were afraid, to do. They sent them to Fr. Conyers, in England, for safety. Fr. Baker, if he had been living, would never have counselled nor permitted such an action. It was taken by the nuns out of praiseworthy respect and devotion to the memory of their saintly director, but it could not help, and undoubtedly hurt, his reputation.

Fr. Serenus Cressy has given us the cream of Fr. Baker's spiritual teaching in the well-known treatise *Sancta Sophia*. Nothing of his ascetical writings was published in his lifetime. It is a pity; for it is unlikely the many treatises will ever be printed now. Perhaps, if they had received the publicity of print, the good sisters

* Rawlinson MSS.

of Cambrai would have been saved the natural temptation to look upon them as an heirloom belonging peculiarly to themselves, a sacred treasure entrusted to their reverent and jealous care.

In his earlier manhood, by the advice of Fr. Rudesind Barlow, Fr. Baker had made transcriptions of documents as a preparation for an Ecclesiastical History of England. Some of the five great volumes he got together are still in existence.* Probably Fr. Serenus Cressy benefited by the labours of his confrère in his well-known *Church History of Brittany*. But a more notable use of these researches was made in the *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, of which Baker was joint and chief author. The learning of this great work is his learning. Fr. Leander is described as acting as his secretary, writing at his dictation and turning the English into Latin; he is also clearly responsible for parts of the second and the third Tractatus; whilst Fr. Clement Reyner, whose name is put to the work, cannot be responsible for very much more than the general ordering of the book, and the seeing of it through the press. The writing and printing and publishing of so huge, learned and accurate a volume in less than four years is a feat perhaps unparalleled in the history of controversy. That it was the labour of three men and not of one does not lessen the wonder. It was giant work, and bears about the same relation to an ordinary controversial pamphlet that the Sphinx does to a Tanagra statuette. It was Fr. Baker's careful research and ready learning which made the feat possible.

Other literary Laurentians of the same generation may very well be noted here. Fr. Anthony Batt was the author of several scarce books of prayer and meditation. The earliest published was *A Heavenly Treasury of Comfortable Meditations and Prayers* written by S. Augustin, Bishop of Hippon, by Antho. Bat., S. Omer, 1624. We learn of the

* At Jesus College, Oxford, LXXV—LXXVIII in the Library.

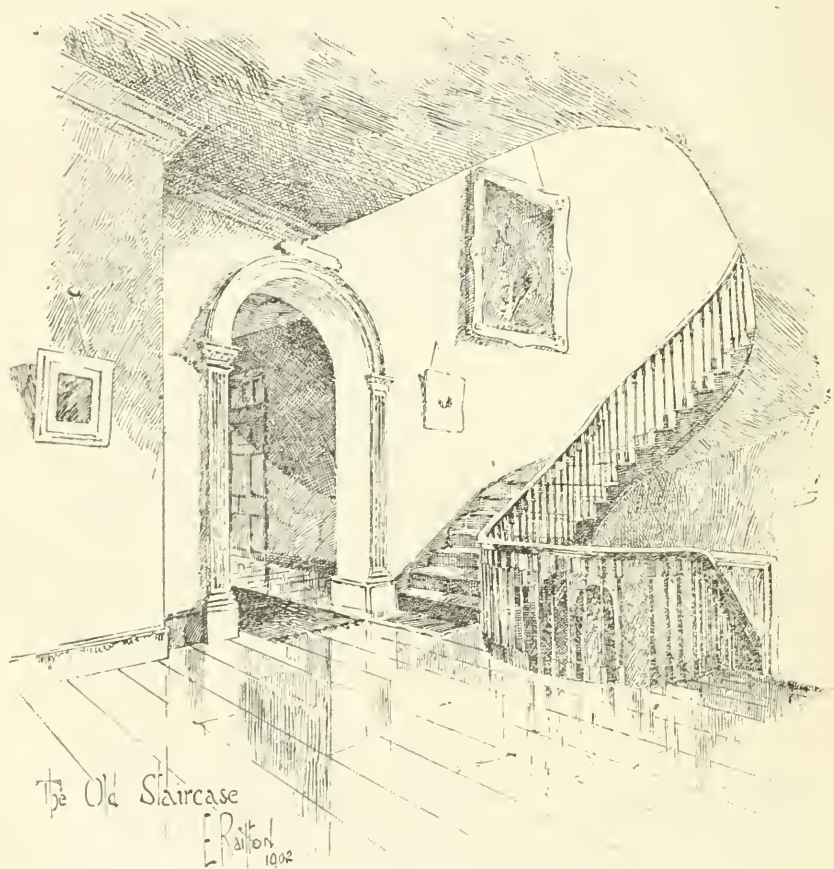
work from John Gee, the informer, who calls the author "a Frier, now in London." * Other works are *A Hive of Sacred Honie Combes containing most sweet and heavenly Counsel*, Douai, 1631; *A Rule of Good Life*, translated from St. Bernard, Douai, 1633; *Thesaurus absconditus in Agro Dominico inventus*, in duas partes. 1° Precationes, 2° Meditationes, Paris, 1641. He also translated Blossius into English (is this the *Mirroure for Monks*, Paris, 1676, reprinted by Lord Coleridge?) and composed a catechism, for the printing of which Fr. Gabriel Brett offered 300 florins, but which does not seem to have been published. He died at Dieulouard in 1657. Another writer of prayer and meditation books, and a volume of Lives of the Saints of the Order of St. Benedict, was Fr. Benedict d'Orgain, a French nobleman of Dieulouard, who was professed at St. Lawrence's and died at Cluny in the odour of sanctity† (1636). He published *Exercitia Quotidiana*, 1621; *Exercitationes devotæ seu Diurnale Precationum*, 1622; *Instructiones Christianæ et Catholicæ*, 1624. He is said also to have written many books of devotion in French. Fr. Anselm Crowder collaborated in several pious works signed with the initials A. C. and T. V., monks of St. Bennet's Order.‡ Fr. Lawrence Reyner wrote *A Treatise of Indulgences*, 1623, and *The Rules of Living Well*, 1624. Fr. Claude Bennet or White, when he was President for the first time in 1633, published the first edition of the Missionary Constitutions. This very imperfect list of early Laurentian writers may be closed with the name of Fr.

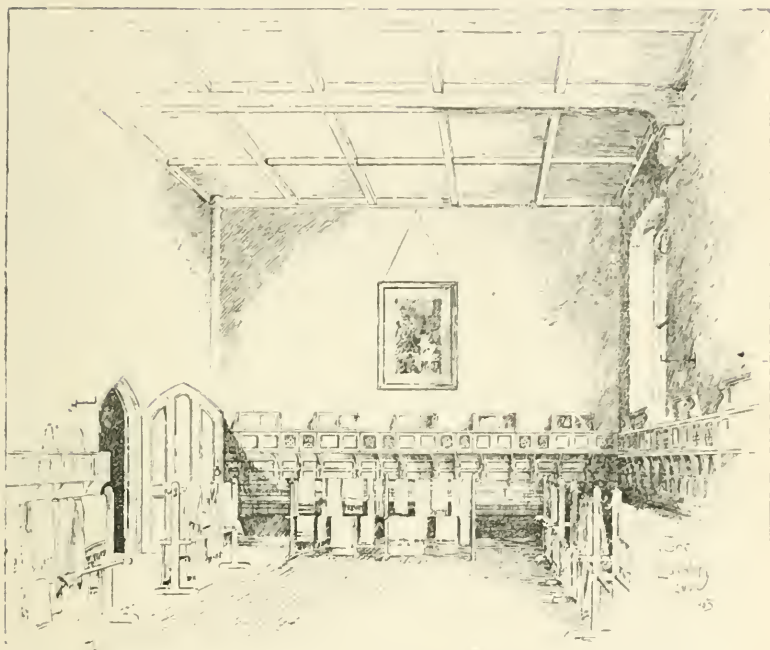
* Foley's Records, Series I. p. 673.

† It is probable that he died of the plague. It is narrated that "His dead body, being, according to the ancient custom of that holy place, stretched forth upon ashes, shined with an extraordinary brightness and whiteness to the eyes of the admiring spectators who there buried him with much honour." Weldon, Chron. Notes, p. 11.

‡ "The Daily Exercise of the Devout Christian," 1632; "The Dayly Exercise of the Devout Rosarists," 1657; "Jesus, Maria, Joseph," 1665.

Francis Hull, Fr. Baker's old antagonist, who wrote two volumes of *Lives of the English Saints*, the discussion about the printing of which came up at the Chapters held in 1641, 1645, 1649, 1653, and 1661. Yet they do not seem to have issued from the press.





CHAPTER XV.

Men of Renown: Laurentian Martyrs.

FROM the time of the foundation of the English Benedictine Congregation, no suspicion of disloyalty has ever rested upon its members. It was a body of Englishmen, ruled by Englishmen, with English objects and sympathies. It had no foreigner, as its General, or President, guiding its policy and controlling its work. Moreover, its Superiors watchfully and anxiously repressed any individual tendency to take sides even in English party politics. It has never

been possible to accuse the Congregation of having a policy, of being Stuart or Roundhead, Orange or Hanoverian, Whig or Tory, Conservative or Radical. Its monks had their sympathies, no doubt; there were times when such sympathies were strong enough and unanimous enough to deserve to be called Congregational; but outwardly and in act the English Benedictine was a monk and a priest, trained carefully to do God's work among the English people, and trained with equal care to leave man's work alone. Hence they met with exceptional respect and tolerance and recognition in their missionary work, both from the nation and its rulers. Archbishop Laud was not ashamed to count an English Benedictine among his personal friends. The antiquarians Selden and Cotton and Wood openly admitted their respect and admiration for the Order. Individual Benedictines were given privileges and immunities refused to other priests. The Royal Chapels at Somerset House and Whitehall were for some time served by the English monks. Nevertheless, our Fathers were not altogether denied the glorious privilege of suffering imprisonment and torture, and of shedding their blood for their faith.

In King James' reign the persecution of Catholics and the hunting down of priests was never wholly relaxed and yet never strenuously carried out. But for the Gunpowder Plot, the penal laws might have been suffered to fall into abeyance. As a nation, the English people would have been pleased to be permitted to let Catholics live in peace their secluded inoffensive lives, and even to let their priests minister to them in secret. But, either from bigotry, brutality, personal grudge or private greed, there were always informers, professional or unprofessional, who would not let the law rest and hunted down priests as the gamekeeper traps his vermin. Any lie would do to hang a papist. Supposed plots were invented to inflame the popular imagination; the rhetoric of the party politician

branded Catholics as enemies of the State and professed assassins; the pulpits resounded with wild abuse of the "whore of Babylon," "the mummary of the Mass," "the harlotry of the Confessional" and other like controversial amenities; the Pope was Antichrist, and children were taught that the cassock was invented to hide the cloven feet of the priest: everywhere unthinking slander and vulgar resentment and jealous suspicion strove, in the name of Christ, to keep alive popular prejudice against the Catholic priest. He had to hide from the light of day, and crouch behind walls, and slink from place to place in the night time like a thief. At any moment a pack of frenzied bigots might be howling around him. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there were periods when, in many districts, priest-hunting had become a sort of national amusement.

It may be some excuse for the way the Catholic was treated—though it was no more than the natural result of the treatment—that the very conditions of his life laid him open to suspicion. He was forced to live apart from his neighbours. An atmosphere of secrecy surrounded him. There were comings and goings in the darkness. Strangers were traced to his gates. His house was closed except to a rigidly-limited circle of friends isolated like himself. There were letters and messengers from foreign countries where his sons and daughters were at school. Sometimes there were reports of a lean silent figure, generally clean-shaven, who seldom looked one in the face, with rounded shoulders as of one who bore a burden, who had a habit of muttering to himself and making signs with his hands, walking up and down in the high-walled garden or hurrying in the night-time to some lonely cottage. This mystery could not fail to breed suspicion. It was always easy to believe the Catholic busy with intrigue and conspiracy. Then, too, life in a foreign seminary did not fit the English priest to be

welcomed by the English as one of themselves. His restrained manner of speech; his trained custody of the eyes; his habits of ejaculatory prayer; his shaven face and sombre dress, even when in disguise; his abstinence at table; his foreign ways and foreign words; his very gentleness and quiet kindness made him a marked man wherever he went. Clever as he might be, he could not always satisfactorily disguise himself. He had not been trained to English fashions; he could not enter into English sports or adopt English manners. He was unusual; and hence people found it easy to believe the worst of him. But there was one time when he invariably won the respect and admiration of the crowd. That was when he stood upon the scaffold. There his gentle courage and manly profession of faith and loyalty never failed to win for him the sympathy of the rabble that came to see him die.

The earliest Benedictine Martyrs were monks of the Spanish Congregation. First was Fr. Barkworth "the oblate or votary of Spaine," as Fr. Baker calls him. Second in the glorious list was Fr. George Gervase, a priest who had received the habit from Fr. Bradshaw and was spending his noviceship, by permission, on the English Mission. Then came Fr. John Roberts, pioneer of the English Benedictine Mission, who is claimed as one of the founders of St. Gregory's, Douai,—"no great scholar" as Fr. Baker tells us, but a bold and zealous worker in the vineyard, who made the noblest of answers to the slanders of his enemies by laying down his life for his Faith. Next of the Spanish monks who died at Tyburn was Fr. Maurus Scot, who, after he was condemned, openly confessed that he was a monk of the order of St. Bennet and a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. Lastly, we have the name of Thomas Dyer, not mentioned by Weldon, but appearing in Raissius' Catalogue. The first of the martyrs of the English Benedictine Congregation was Fr. Ambrose

Barlow of St. Gregory's, Douai, and the second was the Venerable Alban Roe, monk of St. Lawrence's, Dieulouard.

Bartholomew Roe came of a distinguished Suffolk family. He was brought up a Protestant and educated at Cambridge. His conversion arose out of a controversy with a Catholic in prison, in which the University scholar made no doubt that with his "sharp and ready wit" and his "tongue well hung" he would bring the simple mechanic to see the error and absurdity of his belief. It was a case of the biter bit. Mr. Roe became a convert and went over to the English College at Douai to study for the priesthood. He remained there but a very short while before he left to become a monk at Dieulouard.

He seems to have gone to St. Lawrence's before 1611, since in 1612 he made his profession, taking the name of Alban.* He was ordained before April 1615, and in the same year went to Paris as one of the six monks sent by Fr. Maihew to begin the new monastery of St. Edmund. Afterwards he was at Remiremont where Fr. Maihew and the Laurentians attempted to form a Community. We are not told the date of his going on the English Mission.

Fr. Alban's missionary career was that of all the other devoted, earnest, courageous missionaries of his time. To say that he was exceptional in his diligence and zeal, or in his fearlessness and piety, would seem to detract from the merit of his equally noble and devoted associates in the glorious work. He was, perhaps, a little more successful in the result of his efforts than most of his brethren, and for this reason could not expect to be left long in peace. Early in his career he was seized, imprisoned and banished the realm. This exile he turned into a period of rest and retreat, spending the four months at St. Gregory's, Douai; and then, hoping he would be suffi-

* Mr. Bishop thinks the year of profession was 1614, but this date is merely conjectural and one is hardly justified in substituting it for the received date.

ciently forgotten, he slipped back into England and resumed his work. For two years he remained free; then the pursuivants once more laid their hands on him, and the rest of his story is that of his imprisonment and death.

Fr. Alban experienced somewhat unusual treatment in prison. After being removed from a "filthy gaol at St. Alban's" to the Fleet he had cause to welcome rather than to regret his imprisonment. He had powerful friends. It was Count Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who brought about his release from confinement on the former occasion. Family influence now got him transferred to the less objectionable London goal. The same influence—gold could always do so much in the Fleet—made his position there like that of a chaplain kept by the State. He was permitted to minister to the inmates as he wished. He was further permitted to leave the prison—on parole—as often as his priestly duties might summon him. Other prisoners were permitted similar privileges—no doubt for similar gilded reasons. But Fr. Alban's case was unusual both in the extent of his freedom and the length of his imprisonment. For seventeen years he was in very fact a chaplain, harboured and protected by the State, officiating in prison for his companions, and outside for poor Catholics and others in the neighbourhood. He became a great sufferer and was operated upon for stone during the latter years of his life. But the value of his prison work was inestimable. Many of his disciples are said to have lived there as in a cloister. He even wrote and printed devotional and ascetical treatises for their use.* Left in freedom he could never have done God's work so well as he did in his prison cell.

Charles I. had no particular objection to Catholics and took no particular pleasure in persecuting them. But to please his Parliament he found himself forced, every now

* I have been unable to trace any of the printed pamphlets or books.

and then, to make a pretence of zeal for the Protestant religion. We are told that before leaving for the North in the year 1642, he left orders that two of the Catholic prisoners in London should be put to death.* Choice was made of Fr. Reynolds and Fr. Alban Roe. It is significant of the position of Fr. Roe in the Fleet that he was permitted to say Mass on the morning of his execution. The order of execution was carried out. But of the harrowing details it is wholly unnecessary to write. It is hateful even to think of such popular feasts of blood. The two martyrs died like those who had gone before them and those who came after them. They were brave; but then all our martyrs were brave. They professed their loyalty; but all our Catholic martyrs were loyal. They were filled with holy enthusiasm; but how could it be otherwise with Heaven actually opening before them! It is the highest praise of a soldier to say that he died like a soldier. It is the highest praise of Fr. Alban and his companion to say that they died as their fellow martyrs died,—as Jesus Christ, their Master, had taught them to die.

Two incidents on the scaffold deserve mention—the one as further proof of the good work done by the holy martyr in prison, the other as proof of his dying, not for any supposed treason, but simply as a Catholic priest. During the address his fellow-martyr made to the people, Fr. Roe busied himself in priestly ministration to one of three felons—all reconciled by him the evening before—who were condemned to die at the same time. Afterwards, when Fr. Roe began to address the people, the narrative tells us that the Sheriff stopped him, and then, in the words of the chronicle, “he began to speak a word or two to the sheriff himself. ‘Then, sir,’ said Fr. Alban, ‘if I will conform to your religion and go to church, will you secure me my life?’ ‘That I will,’ said

* A cold-blooded act, but there is no reason to doubt the historical truth of it.

the Sheriff; 'upon my word, my life for yours if you will but do that.' 'See then,' said Fr. Alban, turning to the people, 'what the crime is for which I am to die.'"

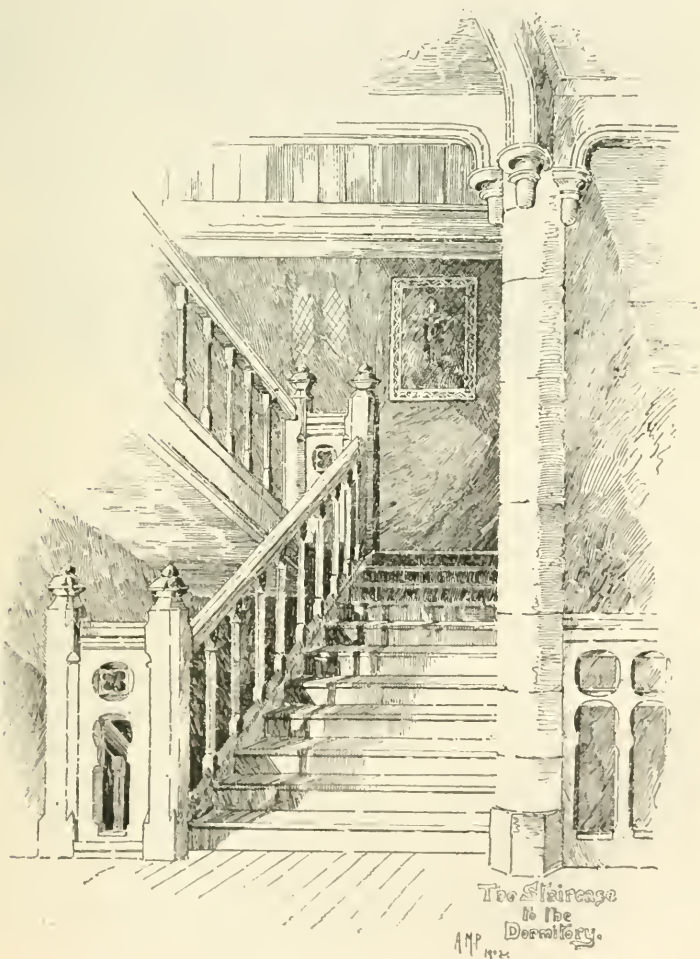
We have no record of any other Laurentian who was put to death at Tyburn. But there is one who is ranked among the martyrs because of his death through long sufferings in prison. This was Fr. Benedict Cox, professed at Dieulouard about the same time as Fr. Alban Roe. He was under sentence of death, but had not the final grace of martyrdom.

Many other Laurentians suffered imprisonment and exile for their Faith. Fr. Francis Foster, one of the Westminster monks, suffered many imprisonments.* Father Boniface Wilford died in prison in extreme old age. Fr. Lawrence Reyner was twice, if not three times, seized and thrown into gaol. Frs. Amandus Verner or Fermor, George Gaire and Claude White, were other confessors of the Faith whose names are known to us. But this short list tells us nothing of the labours and sufferings of our Fathers on the mission. In giving praise to the soldiers who have died or have been wounded on the battle-field, we should not forget those who fought with equal courage and sacrifice but have come out of the conflict unscathed. Let us give honour also to those who, using the wisdom of the serpent, did God's work without check or hindrance, and labouring with equal zeal, and facing equal risks, and enduring equal privations, escaped the toils of the pursuivants and died in obscurity. Theirs may well have been the best and most fruitful work, and they will have received the fuller reward in Heaven for the forgetfulness of their brethren on earth.

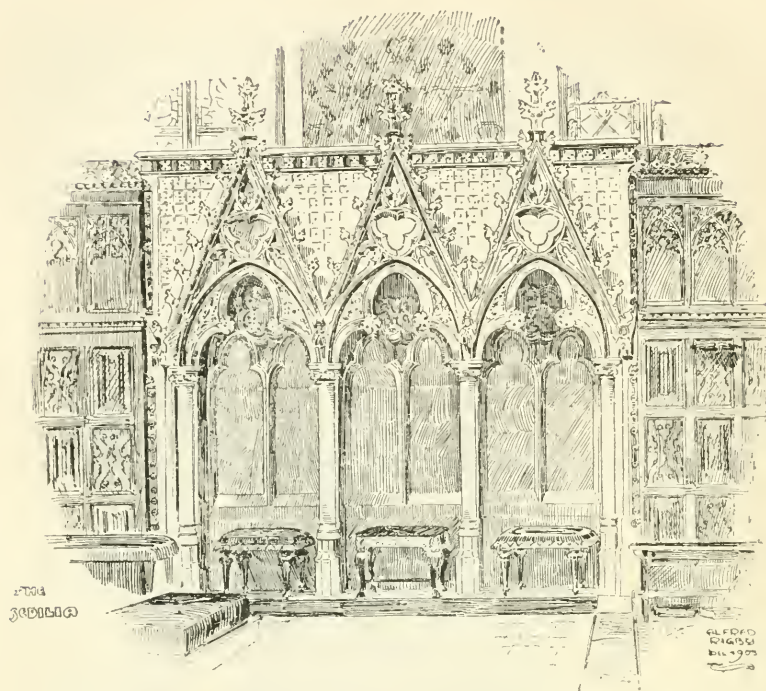
Two other Laurentians may justly be numbered among Laurentian martyrs, though they suffered only a few miles from their home at St. Lawrence's in Lorraine. These were Fr. Anselm Williams and Br. Leander Nevill, who

* He was brother to the Countess of Stafford.

had been sent to minister charitably to the spiritual needs of a lady of the neighbourhood who was on her deathbed. They were seized by some Lutheran soldiers belonging to the army of Saxe Weimar, and hanged in their religious habits on a tree in the wood. The place is still pointed out where they suffered, and the inhabitants of the district venerate their memory as martyrs, put to death out of hatred of the Catholic religion.



The Staircase
to the
Dormitory.



CHAPTER XVI.

Men of Renown: An Abbot of Eammspring.

Two Dieulouard men who greatly distinguished themselves in the early history of the English Congregation were the brothers Reyner. They were Yorkshire men and men of great ability; solid, trustworthy, reliable monks, whom their house and their Congregation could always fall back on in an emergency, and who were never afraid to face difficulty.

Of the elder of them it may certainly be said that he was never first choice for anything; but he was always ready to step in when wanted, and managed to succeed where others failed. Lawrence of St. Clement was a

priest when he took the habit. We have already noticed him as one of the original founders of St. Lawrence's. In those early makeshift days he seems to have been a man of general utility. He had most to do with the building work at Dieulouard, both then and afterwards in his priorship. He came into office by succeeding Fr. Columban Malone as Prior and Fr. Claude White as President General, when they died during the quadriennium. He filled up one of the two short intervals in the long reign of Fr. Cuthbert Horsley at St. Lawrence's (1641 to 1647) when the Community seemingly wished for a change. Most of his life as a monk he spent in his monastery; but he was a most admirable missionary,—with this drawback, that he generally succeeded in getting himself into prison. During one quadriennium he filled the office of Provincial of York. He died on the mission in his eighty-second year in 1664.*

Weldon speaks of him as “a great promoter of regular discipline” and he was a member of the Community of St. Lawrence's during its period of greatest austerity. It is somewhat strange, therefore, to find him charged with the relaxation of discipline during his Priorship. The truth is that he and the President-General-Administrator, as Fr. Rudesind Barlow is designated in the Chapter records, had certain differences of opinion. Prior Reyner, therefore, objected to the Visitation of his monastery by the deputies of Fr. Barlow. The situation has not been rightly understood, through the supposed loss of the Acts of the Chapter of 1629.† These make it clear that there

* Weldon's Notes, p. 200. A document in the Nancy Archives shows that he was a priest in 1606. It is a concession from the Vicar-General of the Dominicans “tibi venerando Do. Clementi Reynero presbytero Anglo.” Lawrence's Christian name was Clement and his brother Clement's Christian name was Lawrence.

† There is an official copy of the Acts of the 1629 Chapter in the Archives Départementales.

was something to be said for Reyner's seemingly contumacious behaviour. It was doubtful if Fr. Barlow had any Presidential authority at all. At the previous Chapter, 1625, Fr. John of St. Emilian (Harper) had been elected President,* but had not been able, or had not taken the trouble, to be installed. Fr. Barlow held that, since the President-elect had not been installed and had not resigned, he the ex-President was continued in office.† Prior Reyner did not agree with him and would not admit his authority. The President Administrator then pronounced him deprived of active and passive voice, but allowed him to appeal to the General Chapter. "*Per suffragiorum pluralitatem*" the Chapter upheld the authority and sentence of Fr. Barlow, and Fr. Lawrence humbly submitted to its decision. It was a nice legal point of dispute which might very easily have been decided the other way.‡ The only definite disciplinary charge against Prior Reyner was his use of tobacco. Smoking was forbidden by a decree of the General Chapter of 1625, and the penalty was enforced "*in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ.*" In this connection, it is interesting to find yet extant a letter|| from Fr. Jocelin Elmer, himself the sternest of disciplinarians, telling Reyner he had forwarded him five pounds and a half of tobacco in one "roule" and two pounds and a half in the other, at eight shillings a pound, for himself,

Fr. Justus Edner, alias Rigg, was the first-elect President, but the Spanish General seems to have used his right of appointment in favour of Fr. Harper, the second-elect.

† A somewhat astonishing contention, since the President resigned his office at Chapter, and as ex-President had no authority.

‡ It was practically decided the other way on the revision of the Constitutions. When a President died or resigned his position, he was succeeded by the other elect-President. In this instance, if neither Fr. Harper nor Fr. Edner, accepted office, one would have thought that the Vicar in France, Fr. Bernard Berington, the President's legally-constituted Deputy out of England, should have acted as President.

|| Douai MSS.

(Reyner), Fr. Lawrence Lodwick and Br. Anthony (Batt). Whether or not Fr. Reyner reformed this unmonastic habit, he afterwards filled in succession the highest offices of the Order.

The younger brother, Lawrence, known as Clement Reyner, from his religious name, was a man who made more stir in the world. He was leader of the small band of the founders of the Paris House of St. Edmund. He took his doctor's degree at Douai and was the first English Benedictine to teach publicly in the College of St. Vedast (1621). He filled the post of President's secretary for some years after the foundation of the Congregation, and distinguished himself in this office by the publication of the before-mentioned *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*. It was he who planned and carried out the shipment of troublesome Fr. John Barnes to the Inquisition in Rome—a clever piece of work which modern readers will not sympathise with, but which was done in obedience to authority, and does not seem to have resulted in any really unkind treatment of the able, misguided and, as it would seem, mentally-irresponsible writer of mischievous pamphlets. He was Fr. Leander's right-hand man during his term of office as President, and he assisted Fr. Rudesind Barlow in the printed controversy with Dr. Smith, Bishop of Chalcedon, concerning the status of monk-missionaries in England. His next task was the acquisition for the English Benedictines of some new establishments in Germany. The Emperor, Ferdinand II, had recovered a considerable territory, with several monasteries of the Bursfeld Congregation upon it, from the heretics. Our English Superiors saw in this an opening for further extension of English monastic work. Influence was brought to bear both on the Emperor and on the German Benedictine Superiors to obtain from them a deserted monastery or two. The Abbey of Cismar was at once graciously conceded on certain reasonable conditions. But a procurator

or intermediary was needed to complete the negotiations, and, most probably because of his knowledge of the language, Fr. Clement Reyner was selected for the office.

The negotiations were surprisingly successful. Fr. Clement's energy quickly bore fruit. Besides Cismar, Rintelin, Staeterling, (Stötterlingburg), Dobran, Scharnabeck, Weine and Lammspring were granted to the English Benedictines. It was an *embarras de richesses*, and speaks rather of the decadence of the Bursfeld Congregation than of Clement Reyner's tact or Abbot Cavarel's recommendation. How were these six abbeys or priories to be manned? One of them, Lammspring, Reyner proposed to erect into an Abbey of Benedictine nuns. The revenues of Scharnabeck he obtained permission to apply temporarily to the support of Rintelin. Still, there were four new establishments to be founded. The enterprising spirit of Fr. Clement and the English Superiors may be judged from their willing and grateful acceptance of this huge gift. Fr. Clement Reyner actually entered into possession of Rintelin and Fr. Leander Jones was appointed Abbot of Cismar. But the army of Gustavus Adolphus regained much of the reconquered territory, and as the Lutherans entered into Rintelin, Reyner and Placid Friar, his companion, escaped by swimming across the Weser. The first English Benedictine invasion of Germany ended ingloriously in this retreat.

Fr. Clement, however, had accomplished something. He had got himself and the English Benedictines known and respected, so that the German Congregation was ready and anxious to reopen the negotiations at the first opportunity. The English monk was actually engaged in a public disputation with an eminent Lutheran, Dr. Gisenius—prepared even to give him the *coup-de-grâce*—when forced to fly the city. Before that, he had overcome a certain Dr. Stechman, a learned Calvinist, so completely that the heretic died of mortification. Hard words break no bones, but Fr. Clement's logic was exceptional. The heretic is said to have expired saying "O Clement, thou hast killed me."

Meanwhile, the monks of the great Abbey of St. Peter de Monte Blandinio at Ghent had asked for an English Benedictine to introduce a new and better spirit amongst them. This carrying of reform into other monasteries was a special vocation of the first English Benedictines and more especially of the monks at Dieulouard.* It is the highest compliment that could have been paid to their fervour and exemplary life. It is also greatly to their credit that the men chosen for so difficult and ungrateful a task were discreet and amiable enough to carry it through without giving offence. Of course, it is also equally to the credit of the supplicant monasteries that they acknowledged the need of a physician and submitted themselves to his treatment. The abbey of St. Pierre at Ghent was in difficulties, not spiritually only but materially. Their noble and ancient church, said to have been founded in 610, was in ruins, almost wholly destroyed by iconoclasts in 1578. Fr. Clement, sent there by Fr. Leander, was just the strong man needed. He acted as Superior. Doubtless it was owing to the energy of the English monk that the church was handsomely rebuilt during his term of office. And in spite of his asceticism, or perhaps because of it, the Flemish Community urgently pressed him to accept the dignity of Abbot. It was a tempting offer, for the Abbey was extremely rich, and the mitre is said by Weldon to have been worth 80,000 imperials a year. But he was staunch to his Congregation.† He would be their Prior whilst he was with them, but he refused the Abbacy. And it so fell out that whilst still Prior of St. Pierre, through the death of Fr. Leander (December 27th, 1635),

* They sent visitors or residents to Fontevraud, Moyenmoutier, Chelles, Remiremont, the Priory of St. Nivards, and St. Pierre de Monte Blandinio. Besides these, Fr. Leander acted as novice-master at Rheims and Fr. Bradshaw went to Longueville.

† The Lammspring Chronicle says "quam (mitram) propter zelum animarum et amorem Germaniæ recusavit."

he succeeded to the President-Generalship of the English monks.

The new President found it difficult to sever at once his connexion with the Abbey at Ghent. He did not wish to leave his work there unfinished, and on their side the monks were most reluctant to part with him. No General Chapter was held in 1637 on account of the disturbed state of the country ; everywhere in Europe at the time there were wars and rumours of wars. A hurried meeting—important because of the publication of the *Bulla Plantata*—was, however, held in 1639. Then, all offices were confirmed until 1641 ; a compromise being effected in the case of the President-Prior of St. Pierre, who was permitted to retain both his dignities, assisted as President by a Vicar in England as well as in France. Fr. Clement was not re-elected President in 1641. He seems to have been ordered to return to Germany.

All the while that Fr. Clement was at Ghent, something in the way of negotiations had been going on between the English and German Benedictines. But, after 1630, these negotiations concerned one only of the five proffered monasteries—Lammspring. In 1630 that monastery had been given to the English monks to be erected into an abbey of English nuns. Now, however, the Prince Elector of Cologne declared it wholly unsuitable for the purpose on account of its lonely and defenceless position. He therefore ordered that it should be made use of as a Seminary for young men. Clement Reyner was nominated Abbot of the new monastery and College in 1632. But it was only in 1644 he was able to enter into possession.

Lammspring was a noble gift. A pleasant somewhat lonely valley, out of the way of traffic, far enough away from Hildesheim to be undisturbed by the ripples of public life, but near enough to be in occasional communication with a world which took no heed of it,—it was just one of those spots the children of St. Benedict would choose for

a home. Abbot Reyner must have known many such in his own beloved Yorkshire. The peasantry were nearly as closely a part of the family of the abbey as the monks themselves. An irregular cluster of houses, mostly built of wood, sprinkled about a road which wandered at its will up and down the hill-side, formed the village. The monastery, quadrangular in shape, was nearly as unpretentious as the village, and resembled a collection of great farm buildings. A roomy, cheerful, stuccoed, Renaissance church, begun in 1670 (dedicated in 1691), now stands on the foundations of the Gothic ruin of the days of Abbot Reyner, and dominates the valley. The Abbot was spiritual and temporal lord and master of all he could see from the Abbey windows. The valley in the old days was hemmed in by a forest.

After the General Chapter in 1644, Abbot Reyner brought with him to Lammspring Fr. Lawrence Appleton (professed at St. Gregory's, 1635), whom he made Prior; Fr. Hilarion Wake* (professed at St. Gregory's in 1639) whom he made Junior and Novice-master; and Fr. Bernard Palmes (professed at St. Gregory's in 1643): Fr. Boniface Chandler, a Laurentian who had been there some time, remained as Cellarius. A Fr. Langen, a German Benedictine from Marienmünster, acted as cook. This was the pioneer Community.

The schedule of the first Visitation, made in the name of Fr. Wilfrid Selby, President of the English Benedictines, by the Abbots of St. Michael and St. Godehard at Hildesheim is still extant to tell us the state of the Abbey of SS. Adrian and Denis when the English Benedictines began to live there. It is the story of Dieulouard over again—ruin through desertion and neglect. In the church, the vaulting of the north and south transepts had fallen in, and, in consequence, they were wholly irreparable. Its

* Called Hilarius Walker in Fr. Collin's account.

walls were full of cracks, but Abbot Reyner had repaired what was left of the main roof of the building, a portion of which was in use. There was a worm-eaten reredos, with statues of the twelve apostles about a foot high; sixteen other larger sculptures, described as "squalid" by Fr. Hilarion, who acted as secretary to the Visitors; and two canvases painted in tempora, described as "*utrumque putidum et putidum*;" both reredos and pictures were probably unrecognized treasures. Other pieces of church furniture were six brass candlesticks—the two largest had been dug up by Abbot Reyner, evidently buried by the late occupants as treasures; two bells—one famous for driving away storms; two crucifixes—one with statues of our Lady and St. John, clearly the rood which hung between choir and nave; a statue of the Virgin suspended by a chain in the middle of the church; an organ out of repair; sedilia and benches for the people; three wooden lecterns or pulpits (*legilia seu emalogia*—Abbot Reyner no doubt supplied these learned words); finally, a large quantity of scrap metal, the remains of some brass vases and of a large pendent candelabrum,—the remnants of which weighed 112 pounds. The stable, next examined by the Visitors, was just about to collapse, and Reyner had hurriedly stripped the tiles from the roof to save them from the smash. A fine piggery, the older portion of it with only one sound wall, but the modern continuation of it easily reparable and fit for use as a stable, was then inspected, and afterwards the "*opilionatum*,"—in fair condition, capable of housing 700 sheep in the winter. Besides these, the visitors viewed a barn, tumbling down; a cow-shed, good all but the fittings; a mill, in use but with a broken mill-stone; a bakehouse, repaired by the Abbot; an old brewery, in ruins; lastly, the new brewery, with sound walls, some vats and utensils, and a roof which only needed mending. This was the sum total of the farm buildings. As for the monastery proper, all was down

or coming down except the refectory—the roof of this had been patched by the Abbot, but the room was yet unusable. The Abbot's house was in fair condition and occupied as the monastery; so also was the porter's lodge, where Fr. Hilarion Wake, the scribe, who has left us these and many other particulars, was lodged. The only Act of Visitation recorded is a recommendation to the Abbot first to get an expert's report, and then pull down all that could not be mended, using the materials for the reparation of the sounder buildings.

Abbot Reyner is said to have spent £3,000 of his own money on repairs, interest on mortgage, and the purchase of necessary commodities. But the financial outlook was good. The mortgage was 12,000 imperials* at five per cent, secured on the tithes and property—no great burden on so large an estate. The property consisted of 2,700 jugers or acres of forest land, the coppice wood of which might be cut for the benefit of the monastery; about 500 acres of plough land; 40 acres or thereabouts of pasture and 30 of enclosed meadow; lastly, three fish ponds, repaired at great expense, covering some three or four acres.† Add to all this three more mills; certain “mulcts not to be despised” in divers neighbouring villages; tithes from 11 of these villages; a proportion of hops coming to about 150 or 200 measures; and certain small rents and tithes, not just then amounting to much, but paying part of the interest on the mortgage. It is abundantly evident that Reyner and his monks could look forward to a time when there would be no money difficulty, even without taking into account the pensions from England. The ravages of war, general neglect and a disastrous fire which three

* An Imperial, according to Fr. Townson, who wrote in 1770, was equal to a *modern* mark and a half; the *ancient* mark was equivalent to 8 imperials. Fr. Allanson reckons an imperial as equal only to half a mark.

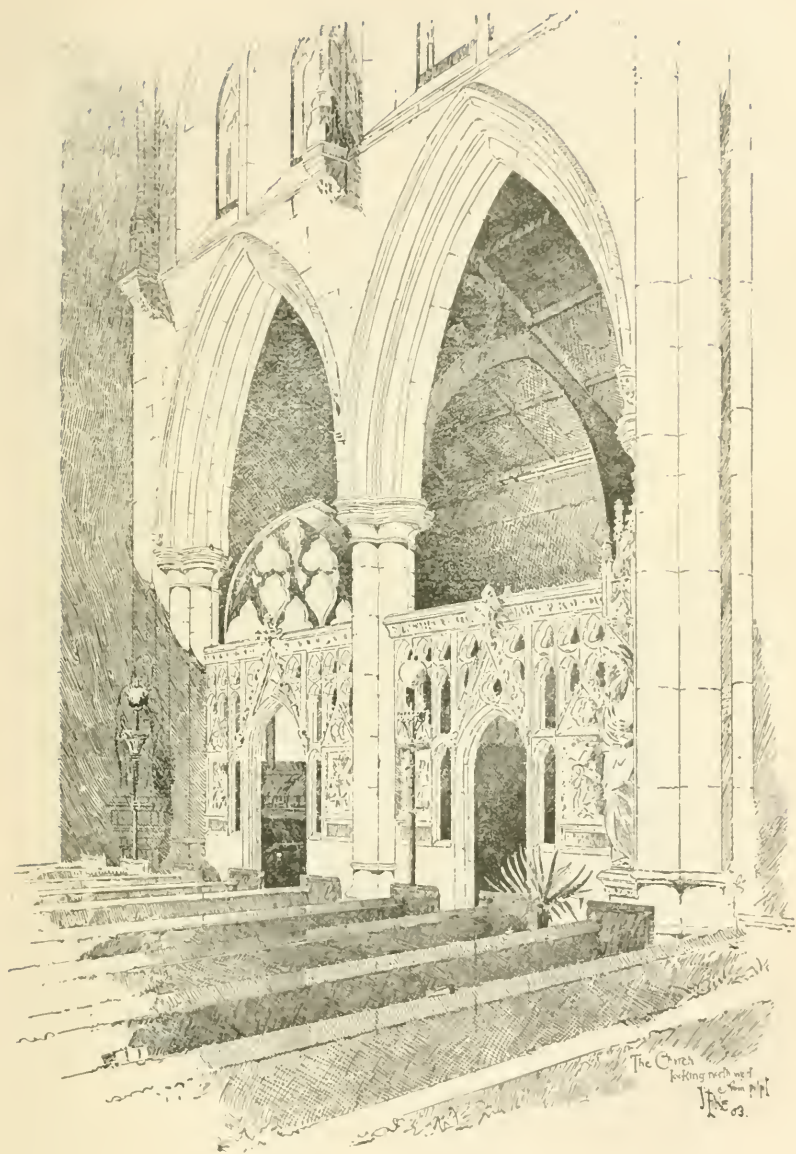
† The jager or acre, according to Townson, was equal to 120 English square perches; the English acre contains 160 perches.

years before had destroyed 30 houses in the village, made the outlook, at the time of the Visitation, unpropitious; but there were better days to come.

Here Abbot Reyner spent the rest of his days, ending his busy life at Hildesheim in the year 1651, aged 62, after a reign of eight years. His body was brought to Lamm-spring in 1692 and buried in the new church.

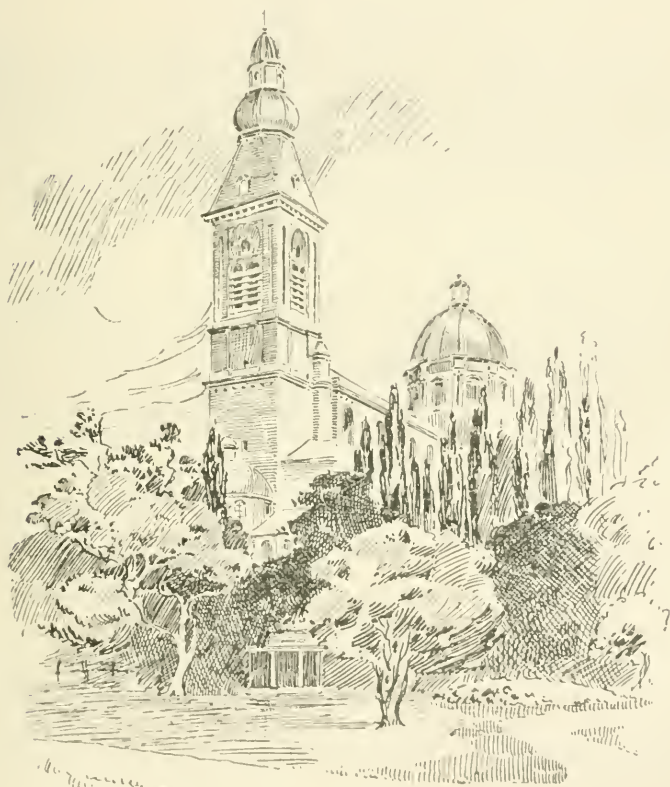
Yet another foundation connected with Dieulouard may be briefly mentioned here. This was La Celle en Brie, an offshoot of the Abbey of Marmoutiers near Tours, which Fr. Walgrave procured first for himself, and then handed over to the English Benedictine Congregation. He wished to present it to St. Edmund's at Paris, receiving himself an annuity of 400 livres; but the question was raised whether he had the power to make such a gift. He was professed at St. Lawrence's and the President held that whatever he acquired, he acquired for the monastery of his profession. (It is clear that the Superiors of the English Congregation did not recognize Fr. Walgrave as being then a member of the Cluniac Congregation.) President Leander directed the Priors of St. Lawrence's and St. Edmund's to submit the question to the Regimen. Three years later, in 1637, the Prior of St. Lawrence's put an end to the difficulty by renouncing, in the name of his convent, all right and title to the Priory of La Celle in favour of St. Edmund's. Fr. Walgrave offered him, as an inducement, to procure for St. Lawrence's a more desirable Priory at Chartres. This fell through, but La Celle remained in the hands of the monks of St. Edmund's, who used it for a time as a noviciate-house. Fr. Walgrave was afterwards reconciled to his English brethren, but remained a member of the Cluny Congregation. He died in extreme old age at Paris in 1658.

Bringing to a close these few chapters on the more notable Laurentians of the early days, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say that there were many others who have deserved mention. But they did not show so prominently



The Choir
belonged to the
1803.

above the surface. Let the reader look upon these few names merely as the outcrop showing above the ground, telling the nature and quality of the bed-rock hidden beneath, of which they formed a distinguished, but only a fragmentary, part.



GAND

ALFRED
RIGBY

CHAPTER XVII.

The Great Plague.

With the origins, developments, interests, results, with even the historical names of the wars of the XVIIth century, this history has nothing to do. It was of little consequence to the Priory of St. Lawrence whether the commune of Dieulouard was directly subject to the Prince of Lorraine or the King of France;—the one patron might be a little more generous in his alms than the other. But it was a matter of real consequence to the English monks that for some ten years the town was in the hands of one or another rabble of soldiery. Dieulouard was on the main road between Nancy, Toul and Metz. French, German, Lorraine and Swedish troops occupied it in turn. The light horse of the King's brother, Gaston of Orleans, held it for twenty-three months. The Swedish soldiers paid it many visits—they were allies of the French. The Lutheran regiment of Saxe-Weimar was quartered there two years. This last left behind it an unenviable record of pillage, cruelty and licentiousness. We have seen how two of the inoffensive Englishmen were hung by its men in the neighbourhood of the monastery. But even the more friendly troops were a heavy burden on the neighbourhood—what with their requisitions, enforced ransoms and wilful destruction. And to add to the horrors of war there came a visitation of the bubonic plague.

Fr. Jocelin Elmer was Prior at the time.* He was a

* In the Appendix to Weldon's Notes, Fr. Jocelin Elmer's election at the Chapters held in 1629 and 1633 is omitted.

man who had a reputation for austerity and strict discipline, but who, at the same time, held the affections and sympathies of his monks. Early in the history of St. Lawrence's, before the erection of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, we find Maihew asking for his return to Dieulouard, as one who should not "be left or placed in any obscure place."* He succeeded Maihew as Prior, and Maihew was content to remain in the house as a subject under him. He left Dieulouard to be Prior of St. Malo, but came back again in 1629.

It was in 1631 the plague first showed itself. Then it is recorded that it remained for six years and only disappeared in 1637.† In 1636 it seems to have been at its worst. There is no record of the number of persons who were stricken down at Dieulouard. It is significant enough of the mortality that no attempt was made to register the dead. It is known that out of 221 households in 1630, there was barely half the number in 1641. At Frouard, a neighbouring village, out of more than a hundred families before the plague, only five or six poverty-stricken inhabitants were left. Brémoncourt was deserted. Pierreville, Parey-St.-Césaire and Rosières-en-Haye were left without a single inhabitant. CréviX was reduced from 256 people to 10. In all more than 80 villages in this part of Lorraine disappeared at this time, without counting small hamlets, farms and detached houses.‡ The misery was indescribable, and between the war and the plague the ruin was well nigh irreparable. Pont-à-Mousson never wholly recovered its importance. Many flourishing villages never afterwards lifted up their heads. Dieulouard itself, which had promised better things and had shown a spirit of enterprise, remained

* Letter to Fr. Leander.

† A medical authority assures me that epidemics of Plague usually last from six to seven years before they finally die out.

‡ V. Digot, *Hist. de Lorraine*.

until recent years, a good-sized village or tiny market town, contented with itself but challenging no notice from the outside world.

The inhabitants, helped and encouraged by the English monks, took such precautionary measures as suggested themselves at the moment. Wooden huts were erected outside the village, "*au pied de la côte de Cuite*," to serve as a temporary hospital for the infected. But the poor people had lost their heads, and the erection of these "*baraqués*" was not taken kindly by them. They began to fancy that people were buried alive there,—the deaths were so rapid and so frequent. Once they rose up in anger, and with difficulty were prevented from burning the huts to the ground.

Catholics will not need to be told that the priests, secular and regular, did their duty by their suffering people. They did more than their duty. They sacrificed themselves freely in succouring and administering to their stricken flocks. Three *curés* of Dieulouard and no less than four "*prieurs-curés*" of Scarpone paid for their devotion with their lives.* As for the English monks of St. Lawrence's they took the lead in this noble work of charity. They volunteered their help wherever needed. It was counted a privilege amongst them. They took the places of the *curés* who died, and officiated and visited the sick in the villages around. It was in an act of charity of this kind, and at this time, that the two brethren already mentioned met their death at the hands of the Lutheran soldiers. They took entire charge of Scarpone, which had proved so fatal to the French pastors, and ministered there for years. They did not shrink from taking upon themselves the heaviest share of the dangers and labours; theirs was the front rank in fighting the terrible foe. Besides Fr. Anselm Williams and Br. Leander Nevill, four other young priests and one sub-deacon sacrificed their lives in one fatal year.

* Notice Historique, p. 102.

Fr. Jocelin Elmer, the Prior, did all that a wise, brave and devoted Superior could, both for his Community and for the afflicted district. Our Benedictine annals pass over the heroism of the Laurentian monks without a word of praise. Indeed, the mention, without comment, of the fact that three of the monks left their monastery before it was stricken with the scourge leads one to infer that there were members of the Community who ran away in the hour of danger. Nothing could be more unjust. They left only when broken down by four years of labour among the plague-stricken. St. Lawrence's was like the citadel which held out to the very last, when all the country around was devastated up to its very walls. By the blessing of God it was preserved to be a stronghold of hope and succour and consolation until the worst was over. Prior Elmer, for his splendid courage and devotion, his resource and unbounded charity, deserves to be counted among the noblest of Benedictine heroes, and his monks, every man of them, were worthy of their leader. In all probability, he removed the three brethren to safer quarters simply because they were too worn out to be of service. His wise and kind precaution, however proved unavailing. They left early in 1636, but they left only to die, and, as far as we can learn, of the plague they had been sent away to avoid. Fr. Bernard Edmunds died at Pont-à-Mousson in April. Fr. Bennet d'Orgain died at Cluny in May. Br. Boniface Martin, who had left as socius of d'Orgain, died at the Monastery of La Charité in July. Then the enemy found its way into the cloister. Fr. Elmer's skill as a physician, noted throughout the district, could do little or nothing to save his Community now that the defences were broken down. One after another, Fr. Alexius Bennet,* on August 3rd., Fr. Joseph Foster,† on August 7th., Fr. Aldhelm Philips,‡ on August 15th., Br. Bennet Jerningham,§ on August 30th.,

* A Protestant soldier, converted by Fr. Robert Sadler.

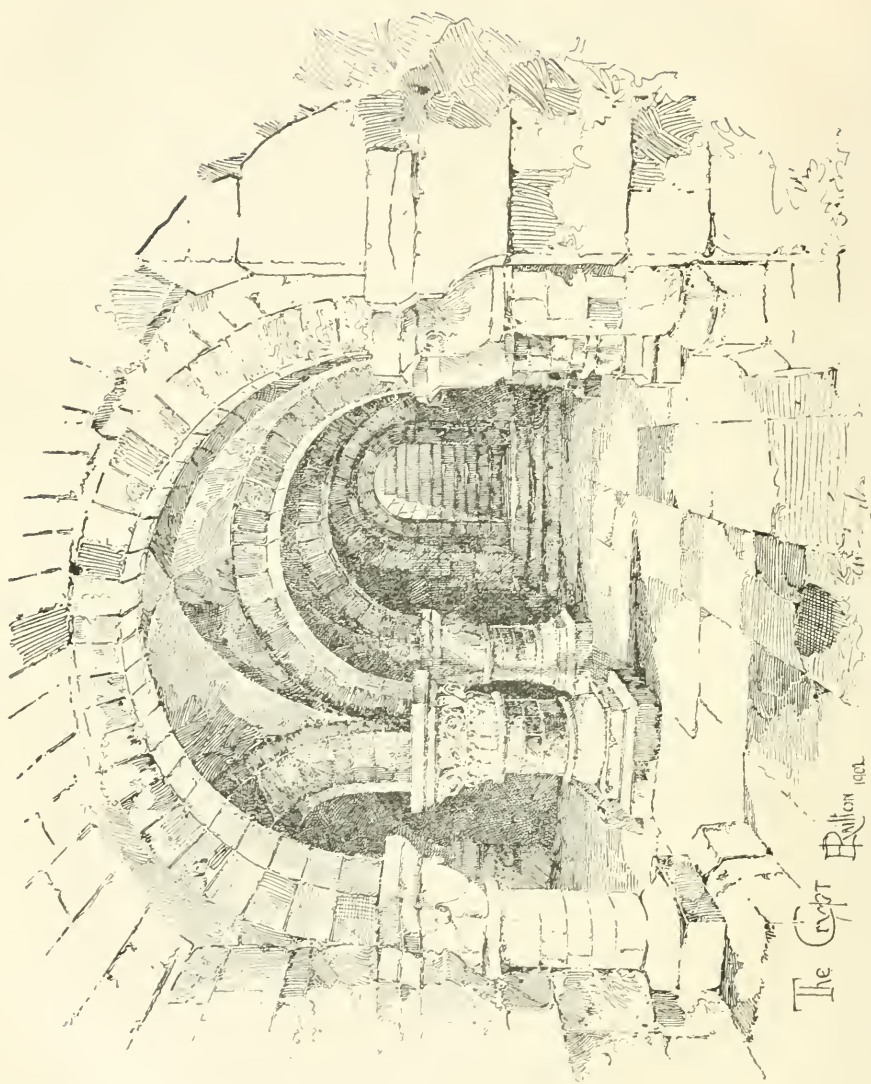
† From Yorkshire. ‡ From Herefordshire. § Of the Norfolk family.

and Fr. Robert Ingleby,* on September 6th, succumbed to their labours of charity in Dieulouard and the neighbourhood. Happily, by this time the severity of the pestilence was over.

As each of the brethren sickened of the plague, Fr. Elmer took upon himself all corporal and spiritual ministrations until the death. He would allow no other monk to go near the infected room. Of Fr. Aldhelm Philips it is recorded that, when dying, in order to remove the necessity of any one touching his body after death, "he placed himself upon his couch and with his own hands closed his own eyes and so patiently and quietly surrendered his soul to God."

It is from the French historians we learn the story of the heroism of the Laurentian monks. One can still read in the Archives at Nancy a touching tribute to their zeal and courage. It is a petition from the Municipality of Dieulouard to the King asking that the English monastery be exempted from the exactions, interference or entertainment of the soldiery, and that his Majesty should take them under his protection. The document narrates how the religious have exercised "*les fonctions curiales*" not only at Dieulouard but in the neighbouring parishes, and that for years together; how many of the Fathers died of the epidemic whilst caring for the plague-stricken. It tells, also, how one of the French Field-Mmarshals, a witness of their heroic devotion, wished to make the King of France bring about the restoration to the English monks of all the goods formerly possessed by the old Collegiate house at Dieulouard and now belonging to the Primatial See at Nancy. The Prior and Council of St. Lawrence, however, would not hear of such a thing. Fr. Bradshaw, in the name of the English Benedictines had promised never to make such a claim. But the monks thankfully accepted their exemption from the "*logement*," &c. "*des gens de guerre*."

* Of Lawkland, Yorkshire.



The Crypt
Ravenna 1902

But the inhabitants of Dieulouard were not content with this general expression of gratitude. They wished to make a little gift on their own account. We find them, at this date, offering the Benedictines "*pour raison de bonnes amities et favorables offices que les habitans reçoivent journellement des Bénédictins*" the privilege of a "source." This was the right, in addition to their own wells, of turning to their use one of the five springs or streams which had been gathered together to form the Chaudrup.* It was a kindly and thoughtful acknowledgment, for the gift would enable the monks to develop their famous Brewery.

The royal privilege which freed the monks from the entertainment of the soldiery meant more than is evident on the face of it. Dieulouard was in constant occupation by troops of one sort or another, and the favour granted meant an increased burden on the sorely oppressed villagers. The grateful peasants seem to have made the petition just after the Great Famine, but whilst still in the direst distress. As a matter of fact, the famine of 1638, which followed upon the heels of the plague, proved worse than a second pestilence. Requisitions, ransoms, extortions, and looting—to say nothing of the plague—had impoverished the whole country. The crops were trampled down or eaten green by the horses of the cavalry. Père Abram tells how the villagers of the neighbourhood came crowding to the gates of Pont-à-Mousson, "driven by hunger and misery; pale, spiritless, fearfully emaciated; many of them still with marks of former wounds; sinking down upon the ground and lying in a heap."† The way the English monks afterwards returned the generosity of the French peasants—the distress and effects of the famine lasted for some years—let the French historian relate. "They multiplied over and over again their almsgiving;

* The old documents show that the Chaudrup is an artificial stream.

† Notice Historique, p. 100.

they gave nourishment to some hundreds of the poor; and they built for these unfortunates a large number of huts (maisonnettes) on the Billu property belonging to the monastery. And all the while their own revenues were sadly diminished. The sale of beer, which was their chief resource, had become almost impossible; their farms, ruined by the war, made little or no returns;* more than once they themselves suffered from pillage and requisitions; none, however, of these considerations hindered in any way their devotion to those in want.”†

King Louis XIII granted the military exemption in 1642. The Benedictines received the additional favour of permission to place the royal arms on their convent, farms and belongings, wherever they might think fit, in order to secure themselves from outrage and exactions.‡ Louis XIV renewed the exemption, shortly after his accession, in 1657. The English monks valued it greatly, as much for the significance of its origin as for the peace and security of their cloister. The village of Dieulouard was never afterwards free from the billeting of soldiers. Louis XIV selected it, on account of its position, “comme lieu d’étape” —as an official halting place for the French soldiers.

Fr. Jocelin Elmer, saint and hero, left the Priorship of St. Lawrence’s in 1641 to become President of the Congregation. In 1645, he returned to live in his monastery of Dieulouard. In 1649 he again became Prior of St. Bennet’s, St. Malo. There he died, July 1st, 1651.¶ That a man of so great personal austerity and so rigid a disciplinarian should have spent most of his life as a Superior, chosen by the votes of his brethren, tells of some unusual personal attractiveness as well as of unusual merit. We

* The Chapter accounts of 1615 to 1617 speak of the farms as still yielding no profits on account of the war.

† Notice Historique, pp. 103-104.

‡ Archives Départementales.

¶ He was from Worcestershire.

know nothing of this, however, except that he wrote a very beautiful hand. When President, and under his influence, St. Edmund's at Paris and St. Bennet's at St. Malo, undertook similar austerities to those practised at Dieulouard. There was some trouble over this innovation. It has been said, in consequence, that President Elmer's zeal was not according to discretion. Let us leave this to the judgment of God.



CHAPTER XVIII.

A Famous Brewery.

IN 1630, before the plague, Fr. Jocelin Elmer presided over 26 monks; between 1633 and 1639 the Community of St. Lawrence's was at one time reduced to 7.* This tells the story of the trouble that had come upon it. The monastery could have done but little for the English Mission at this time. Nevertheless, in both Provinces, and in most of the houses of the Order, there were able and earnest Laurentians doing the work that God and their Superiors had appointed them. The bitter but well-informed Lewis Owen, in the *Running Register*, printed in 1625, gives a sketch of St. Lawrence's in its early days, which, although not wholly accurate, is interesting as the report of an outsider and an enemy of the Catholic Church. We quote it in full, leaving the reader to correct some of the statements in it. "The English *Benedictine* Monks have another Cloyster in the Dukedome of Lorraine, neere a little Univer-sitie which they call Ponte-Mousson: some report, that the Duke of Lorraine gave them an old Cloister, which did belong to some other Monks or Friers, and some small pension or yeerely stipend to help them to live: others doe say, that they themselves, bought it with their money of those Monks. But howsoever, they have no lands or revenues but the Cloyster and a Garden and live by the benevolence of the Archbishop Electors, and other Princes and Lords; and do send very neere as many Monks into *England* every yeere, as those of Douay. To be briefe,

* Archives Départementales. Neither of the figures seems to count in the lay brothers, who were three.

they have their Collectors in *England*, as well as the other Monks or Colledges; and all of them have sufficient maintenance, although they make themselves verie poore. But how poore soever they are; this I am assured of, that they send yeerely into *England* among them all, no less than thirtie or fortie Monks, to pervert and infect the Common wealth with their idolatrie, superstition and fopperie; and are little less dangerous than the Jesuites themselves if all circumstances be duly considered: for they challenge and aim at as high, or rather an higher prerogative, than any other of the Roman Locusts."

What exactly the informer means by the prerogative the Benedictine Locusts aimed at is not quite clear, or of any great consequence; but what he says of the poverty of Dieulouard and its means of subsistence was very nearly the truth at the time he wrote. It was true also that, under God's Providence, in spite of their want of revenues, they did find a sufficient maintenance. But this was in great measure through their own exertions.

A statement has already been made, in Chapter XIII, of the gifts of the Prelates and Princes, and of the alms from England, and what exactly those sources of revenue were worth. But over and above, if we are to believe the Lorraine tradition, there was, from very early days, a less distinguished but more profitable source of income—the brewing of beer. It has been stated that the English monks introduced the hop industry into the vineyards of Lorraine. There seems to be no foundation for this assertion. There can be no doubt that beer, of some sort, was brewed and drunk in the district before 1600. We even read that Pont-à-Mousson gave its name to a beer. All that can be said is that the English monks excelled in brewing and gave an impetus to the industry in their part of the country.

It is not at all likely that the Community at Dieulouard planned the making and selling of beer as a source

of revenue. They brewed for themselves; and it was the patronage of the Court of Lorraine which gave the Benedictine Brewery its first reputation and vogue. The Letters Patent of Duke Francis say expressly that "the Benedictines, *from the time of their establishment*, to which the Dukes, our predecessors, have greatly contributed, have been in peaceful and constant possession of the furnishing of beer to our Court and to the principal seigneurs of our realm." * This distinctly supports the popular statement that brewing was a notable industry with the monks from their first days. But, as at present ascertained, the earliest notice of it, as an established business, is in 1629.

Not, however, for nearly a century after that date did the profits become of any great consequence, even as such things were reckoned then. The cash income to the monastery was exceedingly small. If the Court of Lorraine and the principal seigneurs drank more than a few casks of monastic beer between them per year, they must have paid very little for it. There is hardly a mention of beer profits, small or large, before the 18th century. But in 1710, on the 1st of April, there was a licence obtained from the French King to sell beer in his domains, and from that date the brewing business must have taken a good deal of the reverend procurator's time. Law-suits and petitions are frequent. A certain Laporte of Lunéville, a maltster, seized a horse belonging to the monks as compensation for a supposed infringement of his privileges. One Hoffman, of Nancy, himself a brewer, caused a good deal of trouble by impounding the casks sent out of St. Lawrence's for another supposed infringement of rights. Unexpected fiscal charges brought from the monks new "Requêtes" to various Dukes, Princes and Highnesses, asking for privileges, exemptions and protection. The monks invariably got their way; for both nobles, bourgeois

and innkeepers found the Dieulouard beer more to their taste—"mieux conditionnée" than Hoffman's and the like. It was in favour with travellers also, especially the English, who pronounced the secular stuff "très mauvaise et très pernicieuse;" whilst not only did the court reckon Benedictine beer "nécessaire à leur boette" (buvette?), but the general public, on account of the dearness of wine and its poor quality, considered it a hardship to be deprived of this efficient substitute. Of course the monks had to pay a tax on the sale of their beer—a tax which showed an inclination to increase with the granting of each petition: "deux gros par mesure," then trois gros, &c., besides the "deniers d'octroi," six gros per measure paid by the purchasers who sold the stuff "en détail."*

The modern reader, however, will be glad to be spared further details of this very English and traditionally monastic industry. He may, however, be curious to know something of the special qualities of the beer, as per advertisement or reputation, and also what sort of an income the Benedictines made out of it. For the first point, here is the description of a French historian, made up from the local tradition: "Cette bière était considérée comme l'équivalent de la bière anglaise, si vantée et si recherchée pour son goût et sa force; elle moussait comme le vin de champagne, pouvait être mêlée avec de l'eau, (a very un-English recommendation) conservée pendant plusieurs années, et exportée sans inconvénient."† As for the profits of the beer, the figures for three flourishing years, taken practically at random, 1754-5, 1755-6, 1756-7, will suffice:—5851 livres, 04 sous, 7 deniers, in the first period; in the second, 6379 livres, 05 sous, 5 deniers; in the third, 14,242 livres, 01 sous, 0 deniers, were cleared by this manufacture, furnishing the monks, as they themselves say in 1733, "aide à les faire subsister dans le lieu de leur exil."

* Archives Départementales.

† Billstein. Notice Historique, p. 90.

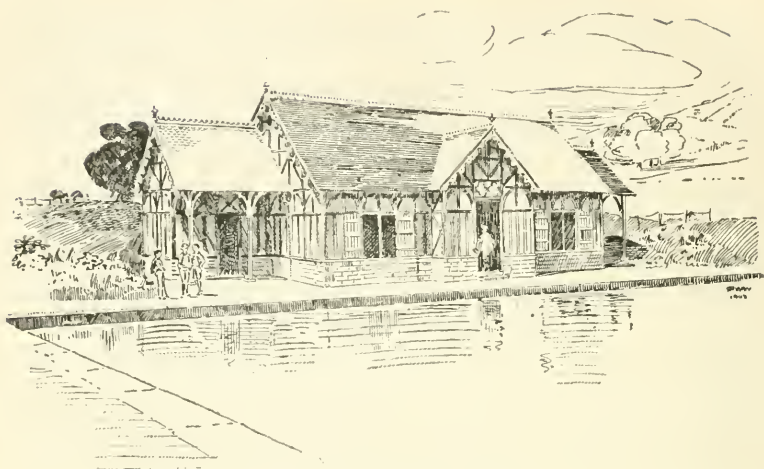
The Community of St. Lawrence's thought very highly of another royal concession. This was the annual gratuity of a *muid* of salt.* Except what was manufactured in the salt marshes on the coast of Provence, salt was a royal monopoly. From the time of our Edward III and his "loi salique," as he jokingly called it—salt was dear enough in France to be accounted a luxury, and imported salt—"sel noir," as it was called—an article of contraband protected by heavy penalties. Not only smugglers but eaters of contraband salt were liable to heavy fines, and ham or bacon cured with it was subject to forfeiture. As an article of illicit commerce it was quite as important as tobacco, brandy, or lace are now with us. Free salt, given as an alms, had therefore become an important privilege, and our Fathers valued it, and jealously claimed and guarded it. For sixty years there had been no break in the delivery of this necessary requisite of the table, until, towards the close of the seventeenth century, Louis XIV conceded the *salines* of Lorraine to the Duchy. Then there was a temporary cessation of the alms, but the King on appeal ordered its continuance, and a further concession was signed by Colbert, the Minister of Finance, in 1674 (April 24th). It was renewed again in 1677 and 1700, with an order on the "gabelle de Metz" to reimburse the monks for their losses in the years when the alms was discontinued. On this occasion the official document priced the annual hogshead of salt at 90 francs a year. Commercially its value would be very much greater.

There is no reason to suppose that Louis XIV had any personal knowledge of the little foreign Benedictine colony in Lorraine. There is no reason to suppose that the English monks had any powerful protectors or influential friends at Versailles. They were in the royal good books, but no special favouritism was shown them. The generosity of the French King, in this and other matters, was just his cus-

* From the Saline of Rosines (?).

tomary generosity, in no way exceptional. But it was none the less admirable and princely, and our forefathers had reason to be grateful for it. Louis continued also the pious custom, inherited from the Dukes of Lorraine, of giving the monks an annual pension, varying in value from 112 to more than 250 florins a year. To these alms there was no offset. The monastery was free of government exactions until 1699. Then it was taxed, and was further called upon to pay its share of a voluntary war contribution of 6000 livres, agreed to by the Diocese of Toul in 1701. But even after 1699 it received nothing but royal liberality at the hands of Louis the Great.





CHAPTER XIX.

Parochial Rights.

UNLIKE the record of the Venetian dial "*horas non numero nisi serenas*" our history is obliged to take note chiefly of misfortunes and misadventures. The sunshine makes no mark on the surface of a lake; it is the wind and the rain that write their fleeting record there. It is just such little surface troubles, worrying perhaps to Prior and Procurator but of no lasting consequence, and a good deal of unrecorded sunshine which make up the history of St. Lawrence's between the plague of 1636 and the fire of 1717. For thirty-five of these years, with two short intervals, Fr. Cuthbert Horsley ruled the monastery,—a record of longevity with our monastic superiors. During the early years of his reign, he was chiefly busy in borrowing money to make ends meet; in the later years he was buying property. The acquisition of Marivaux castle and estate in 1659-1661 was the event of the period, and 36,000 francs, much of it borrowed money, was spent in its purchase. Good friends helped the worthy prior to secure his bargain.

Mr. and Mrs. Cary—the Hon. Patrick Cary,* brother of the second Viscount Falkland and of Fr. Placid, a monk of St. Edmund's, Paris—were then living at Dieulouard, and after lending 1280 francs to help on the purchase of Marivaux, they took up their abode in the castle. Fr. Horsley records that afterwards they did much to diminish the debt incurred, and another kind creditor, the Comtesse d'Arbroy wiped it out completely. The Nancy Archives tell us that Marivaux brought in from 1250 to nearly 1500 francs a year—and a good many lawsuits. Bezaumont, another property purchased by Horsley (in 1683), produced quite as large a crop of lawsuits but a good deal less money.

Lawsuits also Prior Horsley had with the parish priest Père Sabaudin, and plenty of them ; indeed, legal expenses are so regular an item in the pious and amiable Prior's accounts that one is inclined at first to suppose him a little difficult to get on with. But his long and happy rule of the house is a sufficient proof of his native peacefulness. As far as one can judge, it was his very meekness that provoked attack. But, gentle and inoffensive as he seems to have been, he was quite able to defend himself and his charge.

What exactly was the original cause of M. le Curé's warfare against Dieulouard it is impossible to say. Probably, he was irascible ; undoubtedly, he believed himself to be fighting for his parochial rights and privileges ; perhaps, he was a bit jealous of these foreign monks who dominated the village. It is not always pleasant for a little parish church to be overshadowed by a great monastery. The generosity, friendliness and admiration the neighbourhood showed to the Benedictines was something which, under other circumstances, might have been placed to the credit of the parish priest. We may not suppose that M. Étienne Sabaudin was irritated by his

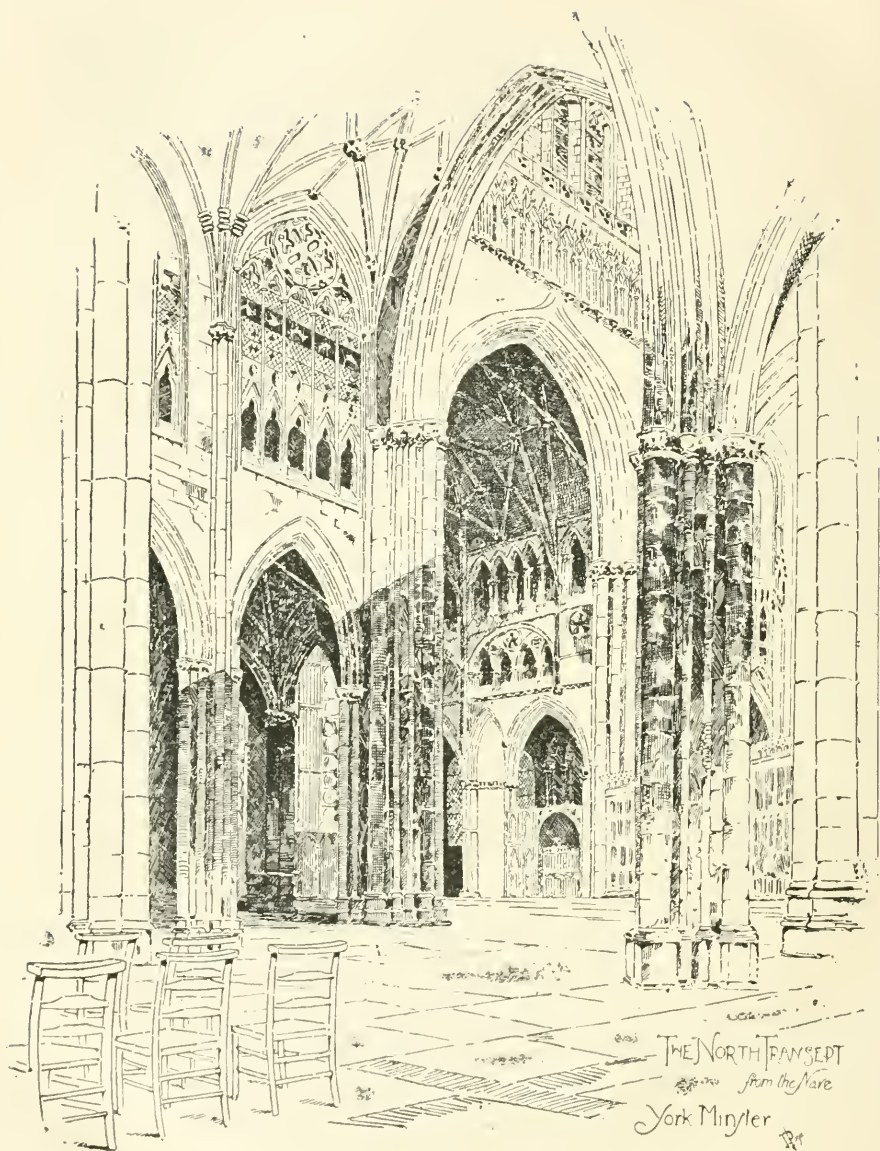
* He married the niece of Sir William Uvedale of Wickham, Hants. A small volume of his poems was published by Sir Walter Scott in 1819.

poverty. The benefice he held was well endowed—indeed, so amply and even excessively provided with liberal stipendiary obligations, that, at the time of the Revolution, there were five secular priests maintained in the little village, in addition to three considerable benefices attached to St. Lawrence's. The devout Lorrainers seldom omitted to remember the Church in their testamentary arrangements, and no doubt the parish priest had his full share of pious gifts. At this very period, the Bishop of the diocese handed over to the monks the hermitages of St. Blaize * and of St. Mary Magdalen †—the latter built on the site of a Pagan temple—both in the near neighbourhood of Dieulouard. The revenues of these chapels were trifling, though there was a small cemetery attached to the chapel of St. Blaize and an annual pilgrimage to that of St. Mary Magdalen. But it is impossible to suppose that his Lordship would have deprived his own clergy of these small perquisites, if they had been in need of them.

The controversies between seculars and regulars are not generally edifying reading; but in this instance they can do little harm even to the reputation of M. Sabaudin, whilst they give us some interesting information concerning the customs and position of the monks at Dieulouard. We learn from them, for instance, the importance of the Confraternity of the Holy Rosary established in the monastic church. It was great enough to arouse the emulation of M. Sabaudin, who brought in a Dominican father to establish a rival confraternity in the parish church of St. Sebastian, some time before 1669. Unfortunately, there was a law forbidding more than one such association in the same locality. The Prior of St. Lawrence's could produce a parchment document, signed by the Right Rev. Raphael Riphoz, Bishop of Barcelona

* Between Dieulouard and Pont-à-Mousson.

† On the Cuite. It was burnt down in a moor fire in 1720. But it was probably rebuilt.



and Vicar General of the Dominican Order, declaring that he had established the confraternity in the Monastic church, as far back as 1618. M. Sabaudin however, had obtained a confirmation of his rival association from the Bishop of Toul. He appealed therefore to his Lordship to suppress the older Laurentian Confraternity. The monks resisted and easily won their case. The bishop evidently had not known of the already existing confraternity and, in 1671, he issued an *ordonnance* in which he says: "nous avons cassé et révoqué, cassons et révoquons toutes les ordonnances que M. Etienne Sabaudin . . . a cy devant surpris de nous." He further inhibited "the exercise and functions" of the confraternity in the parochial church and confirmed the confraternity in the monastic church "comme la véritable et canoniquement établie." This should have ended the dispute, but, as a sample of M. Sabaudin's methods, it may be mentioned that he at once appealed to the Parliament of Metz. The secular authorities, however, took the same view as his Lordship of Toul had done, and confirmed the Benedictines in their rights. So also did the Dominican Superiors when they were appealed to. The parish priest had to content himself with a rule requiring the monks not to hold their monthly Procession before 3 o'clock, when the Parish Vespers would be over.

Sabaudin's next most important quarrel concerned Processions of the Blessed Sacrament. It had been the custom, in the grand Processions, for the Blessed Sacrament to be received at the door of the monastery church by the Prior and the monks, and to be enthroned by them on the high altar. M. Sabaudin demanded that the church should be placed altogether at his service as an Altar of Repose, and this at any time in the day that suited him. To this the Prior demurred, just so far as to tell the parish priest that the monastic Vespers were always at a certain fixed hour, and

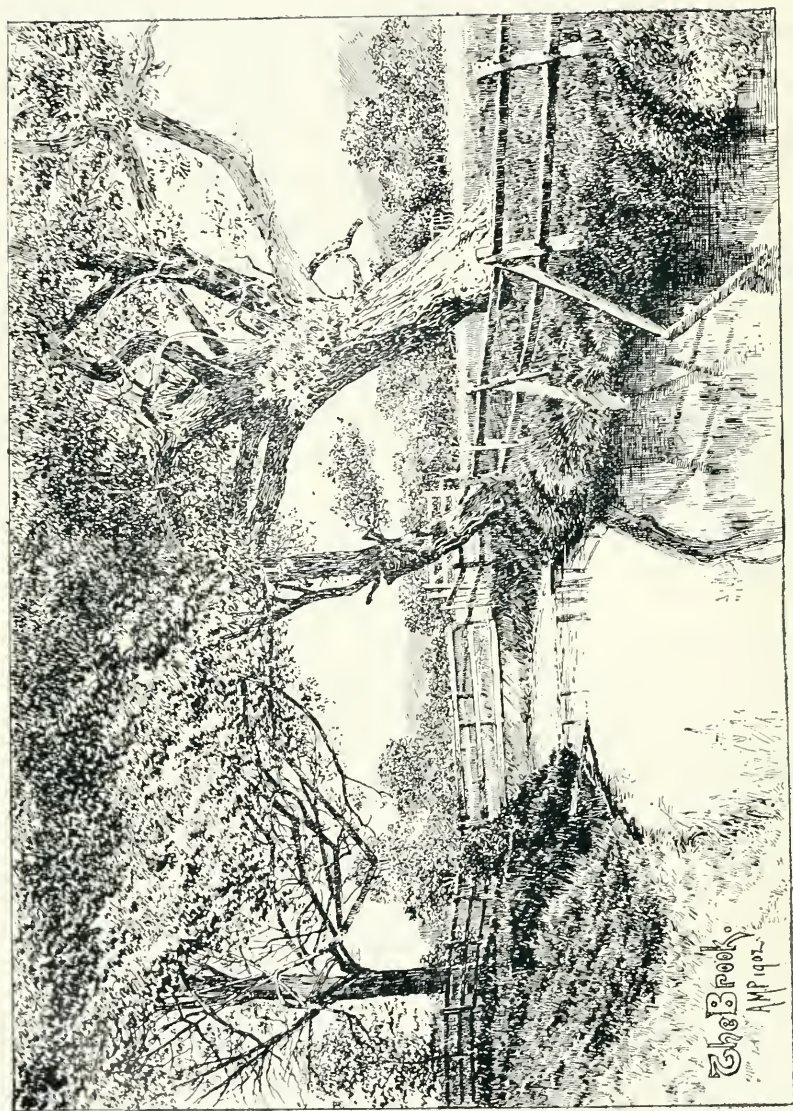
could not be changed. Whether by accident or design, the Parochial procession entered the church during Vespers. The monks made no trouble, but the 'Suisse,' after the Priest and the servers and cantors had entered the sanctuary, prevented the crowd that followed the procession from proceeding beyond the entrance to the choir. Sabaudin was indignant at this outrage, as he deemed it. He complained to the bishop that the monks interfered with the procession, that a Suisse "armé d'un sabre" had struck the people, and also that the monastery bells were not rung for his procession, whilst they were rung afterwards for the monastic Rosary procession on the first Sunday of the month. The Prior's answer to this shows that it was a grievance made out of nothing. The bells *had* been rung; the church was fully prepared; lighted candles were on the altar and held in the hands of the monks. The choir was very narrow and the public could not decently be permitted to ascend the six steep steps. The sword of the Suisse was part of his dress and was never handled; neither was any one struck. All that happened was that the sacristan pushed a boy accidentally—a way that sacristans have. The bishop's decision in this matter was that the parish priest was not to interfere with the ancient customs.

Probably M. Sabaudin was misinformed about what took place in the church, but the custom, confirmed by the bishop, that the monks should meet the Procession at the door of their church, and that the celebrant should resign the Blessed Sacrament into the hands of the Prior to be enthroned by him on the monastic altar, is a curious and interesting one. We may candidly admit that the Prior might very well have omitted his Rosary procession on the occasion of a Fête-dieu. It is amusing to find the "Suisse" of the monastic church disturbing M. Sabaudin's peace of mind. We can quite believe the very sight of him was offensive.

Another long legal contention concerned the public cemetery. It will be remembered that, in 1607, Fr. Bradshaw had acquired a strip of the old cemetery in exchange for the privilege of free burial in St. Lawrence's church and cloister. In 1621 this onerous agreement was modified, with the full consent of the inhabitants and the two Puissances (Toul and Verdun); it was then arranged that the monks should pay 6 sous annually on the Feast of St. George (a sort of tithe), and on the other hand should be permitted to charge 10 francs barrois for each burial. The fresh deed was confirmed by the Parliament of Metz in 1642. For several reasons, however, the monks wished to be rid altogether of the obligation of burial within their walls. First of all, as they said, it destroyed the privacy of the cloister—there was a robbery in 1738 “de tous leurs vases sacrés . . . à défaut de clôture.” Then, M. Sabaudin made trouble about the fee of 10 francs, which he thought should go into his own pocket. Moreover, there was a local custom by which the linen shroud which covered the coffin (*“lintheamen quo feretrum defuncti cooperitum,”*) was given to the Church; this also the parish priest claimed, and on occasion had waited at the door of St. Lawrence's to take it away before it was borne with the coffin into the church—*“scandalum in populo”* as the Bishop described it. There was also trouble over the candles which those who walked in the funeral procession presented to the Altar. Because of these and other inconveniences, the Benedictines bought a piece of land on the outskirts of the town and offered it to the inhabitants as a graveyard. It was unexpectedly refused; whereupon the monks built a house upon it and let it. Then, with the concurrence of M. Sabaudin and the majority of the inhabitants, *“de l'aveu et sur l'indication formelle et précise des habitans, le Curé à la teste,”* they purchased another plot of land with a house upon it, and added to it a grange and a bit more land which already

belonged to them. This property, over which they spent 6000 livres and which stood exactly opposite the porch of the Parish Church, they handed over to the town as the new cemetery. The assent of the two Puissances was again obtained and everything seemed settled. But M. Sabaudin disturbed the arrangement. The bright idea struck him that it would be a convenient opportunity to open out the entrance to his church. This he did; and by doing so lessened the area of the new cemetery. He therefore, backed by "a cabal," demanded an extension of the diminished churchyard. It was now too small. The monks, after a rather warm contention, gave way and made an additional purchase. It was quite the best thing to do. M. Sabaudin's claim looked and looks unreasonable, but the broadening of the street in the front of the parish church was so greatly to the public advantage, that it is not surprising M. Sabaudin should have fought for it. The parish church stood in a bye-lane not more than three or four yards wide. The commune had no legal claim that the Benedictines should pay for the opening out of the church entrance, but the English monks had been treated with so great generosity by the inhabitants, that to refuse the demand, high-handed, as it appeared to be, would have been churlish. The affair ended satisfactorily; but to prevent further compulsory appeals to the monastic purse—M. Sabaudin might have taken it into his head to make a 'Place' in front of his church—they insisted that they should be considered proprietors of the cemetery and should receive a nominal ground-rent of 6 sous. This was readily conceded.

Of course, the vexed question of the Paschal Communion came up. M. Sabaudin complained that the monks exceeded their canonical privilege. The Prior according to established custom, had permitted the servants of the monastery living in the Basse-court, and the students also, to make their Easter in St. Lawrence's. He had moreover



THE BROOK (THE HOLBECK).

given the last Sacraments to a dying denizen of the Basse-court. Concerning this, the Bishop only repeated the vague law that all the citizens of Dieulouard were parishioners of the parish church of St. Sebastian, and he solemnly forbade them to make their Confession elsewhere. This left the matter entirely unsettled. M. Sabaudin claimed that the Basse-court was part of his parish, since it had been a street (part of the Rue d'Avignon) before the monks acquired it. He also used as an argument the fact that the servants, for the most part, had been baptised and confirmed and married in his church. The Prior, on the other hand, contended that the servants' quarters were part of the buildings of the monastery. The debate was continued for many years afterwards. What final answer was given is not stated. An opinion was obtained from Paris which would not help much. It decided that the men servants were under the jurisdiction of the Prior, but "ye maids not quite so"; "ye pensioners in case of a law-suit would in most things belong to ye curate," &c. Modern canonists would not hesitate to decide this dispute in favour of the Prior.

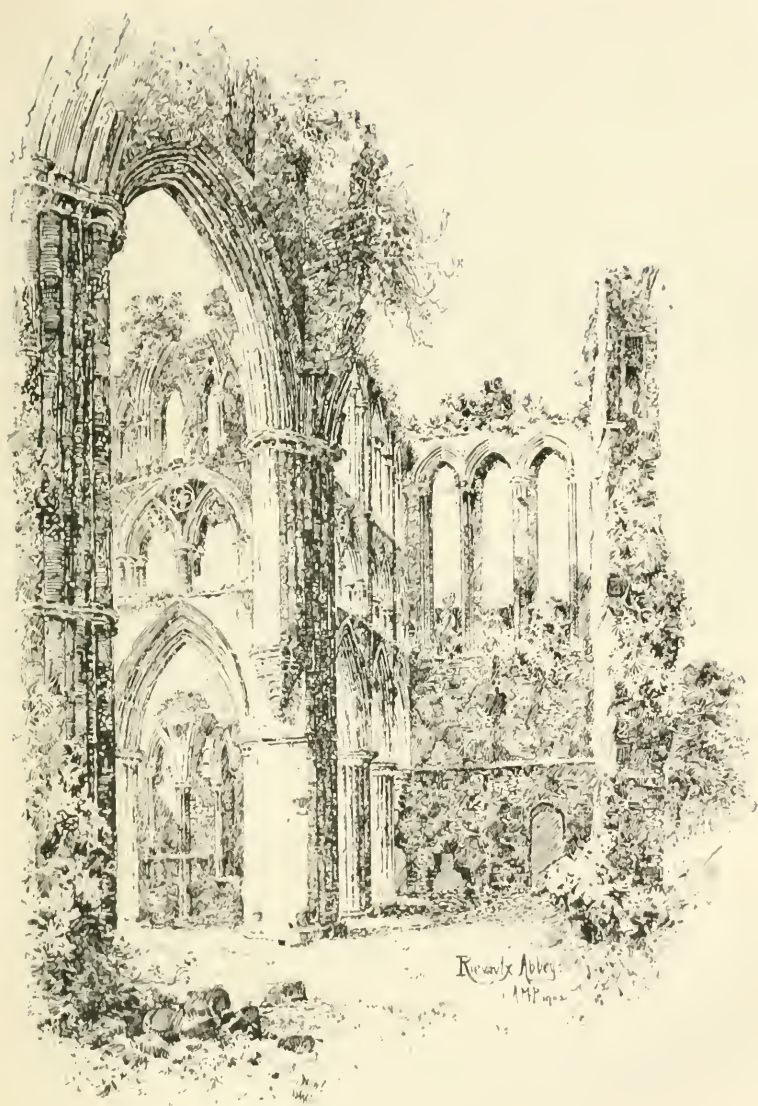
It will already be evident that M. Sabaudin kept Prior Horsley's wits well exercised. But these are only a few of the points of dispute. He complained to the bishop that the monastic church interfered with his services; it had even benches like a parish church. The Prior answered that the benches were there before the monks came. The monastic bells were rung at the same time as those of the parish church, and what was altogether unendurable, "*même pendant le Prône*. The Prior answered that it was not he who had changed the times of his services. On *demifêtes*, when the parishioners were expected to hear Mass before they went to work, the Benedictines had an earlier service than the parish church. The Prior answered that the first Mass at the monastery was at five all the year round. The monks kept the Feast of St. Mark, with its

procession, on the proper day, when in the diocese of Toul it was transferred. Also, during “la pluie” of 1725 the Benedictines had a procession* when the parish priest had no licence for one—terrible disadvantages, &c., &c. The good bishop in answer to all these complaints asked the monks to be careful not to let their bells interfere with the parochial services, and also not to admit the public to an earlier Mass than that of the parish church on Festival days.

One more complaint against the English monks and we may turn to other matters. At an Episcopal Visitation made in 1728, the deputy visitors called the attention of the Bishop to the condition of the four ancient titular chapels of the church of St. Lawrence: one under the invocation of Notre Dame des Grottes, another dedicated to St. Catherine, a third to St. Erasmus, and the other the Lady Chapel. It was admitted by them that the obligations of the two latter chapels were fulfilled; but there was a general accusation of neglect made against the holders of the benefices. On receipt of the report, the Bishop ordered that the titular chaplains must, each of them, keep up the decorations in the chapels, say the Masses, and fulfil all obligations; or that they must not take the revenues. There is no doubt that this charge was directed against the Benedictines, but it did not touch them. The revenues of these titular chapels had not been given over to them by the Nancy Chapter. Recently, in 1690, the then holder of the benefice, Joseph Le Retendeur, Canon of Nancy, had spent some money on the Chapel of St. Erasmus, and having done something towards its restoration, resigned the chantry to St. Lawrence’s† (Nov. 7, 1696). The monks had years before restored the Lady Chapel handsomely and at their own expense. They had

* The Benedictine procession was on occasion of the Feast of the Dedication of their church and not on account of the rains.

† The possessions of this chapel sold at the Revolution for 4200 livres.



Ruwenzori Abbey
1884

also erected two other altars for their own use. But the three chantry priests of the Lady Chapel, St. Catherine's and Notre Dame des Grottes had done nothing, and apparently never afterwards did anything, but take the revenues. Perhaps it was not clear who the beneficiaries were—except in the case of Notre Dame des Grottes. For this, the most important chapel and most out of repair, it is certain that poor M. Sabaudin himself was responsible. The venerated and venerable statue of the old Notre Dame des Grottes in St. Lawrence's had been removed before the monks came to Dieulouard. It was placed in the crypt of the parish church with all that pertained to it, and a new Notre Dame des Grottes was erected there. M. Sabaudin was its chaplain and enjoyed the endowments. But he does not seem to have been called upon to carry out the Bishop's decree to restore the crypt of the monastic church to its old state. It could hardly have been expected of him. He had his own Notre Dame des Grottes to look after.* But neither would it have been wise or right for the monks to re-erect a rival Notre Dame des Grottes in their church. Consequently, the crypt remained out of ecclesiastical use. All we know of it is that the Benedictine Superiors once forbade its being turned into a wine cellar, and Fr. Cuthbert Horsley on another occasion asked permission to store wood in it. It is not likely he received permission.

Legal documents, ecclesiastical and civil, make up the bulk of the relics of St. Lawrence's in the archives at Nancy. They have been carefully preserved and are unusually complete, covering the whole period of the history of the English Benedictines in Lorraine. When one first dips into them, one is tempted to think our old Benedictine Fathers a stubborn, stand-on-their-rights breed of the English bull-dog, and that their sprightly neighbours took pleasure in baiting them and making them do all but bite.

* It was a valuable benefice. At the Revolution the property sold for 13,500 livres, a fraction only of its value.

The discovery of M. Sabaudin's name sprinkled throughout the bulkiest of the bundles sets things in their true light. The contentions between the English monks and the French priests resolve themselves into a summer cloud in a day of sunshine. During the hundred and seventy years the English made their home at Dieulouard, there was no trace of a grievance against them among the secular clergy, except during the one short period. The reader of this chapter may be of opinion there should have been no grievance then. All the trouble arose out of one man's perversity—or shall we say his pleasure? There is no need to suppose resentment or ill-feeling on the part of the belligerent Curé. M. Sabaudin believed himself to be maintaining his rights. But, that this question of rights, so often wrongs in disguise, so prolific of enmity and jealousy among good men, a noxious weed apt to be cultivated as a flower, flourishing best in enclosed gardens, should have shed its poisonous influence only upon one brief chapter of the history of the monks of Dieulouard, is evidence not only of English good sense and French courtesy, but of mutual helpfulness, forbearance, and esteem.



CHAPTER XX.

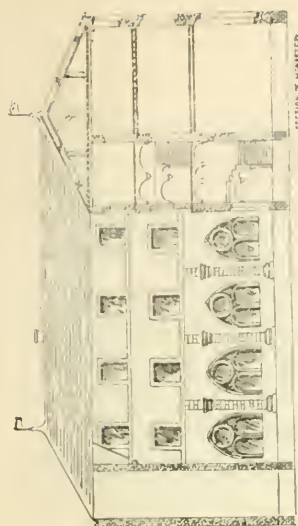
The Beginning of a College and a Great Fire.

THE singular permission, decreed by the Chapter of 1645, that the English Benedictines might extend their missionary labours to Maryland, if they wished, must have seemed a piece of irony to the monks of St. Lawrence's. There were but very few available subjects to send to their own country. They had recovered from the effects of the plague in some measure. They had added considerably to their estate. But there were few vocations. College they had none, and novices came to them only in ones and twos, with frequent blank years between.* Their numbers were

* Fr. Allanson does not note a single profession of a choir monk between 1030 and 1051.

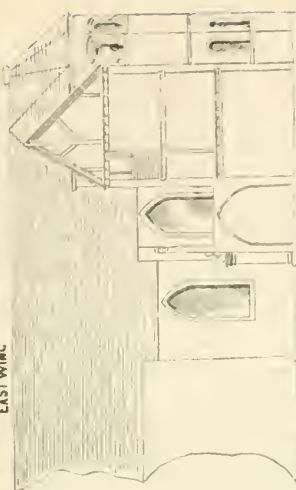
steadily diminishing, so that they had to face the prospect of gradual extinction. There was actually serious discussion at Chapter whether Dieulouard had not better be given up altogether, and its Community sent to strengthen St. Edmund's at Paris.

Several theories were advanced to account for this state of decline. The monastery was too far away from England, it was said. But against this was the fact that it had flourished exceedingly when it was not a bit nearer. Then, the wars and frequent disturbances made the neighbourhood uninviting. But the country was rather more peaceful than in the prosperous times. Prior Horsley and his Community put the dearth of vocations down to the excessive austerity of the life, which rather frightened away than attracted the pious English youth. Fr. Paul Robinson, the President, himself a Laurentian, held the same view. Accordingly a petition was presented to the General Chapter of 1657, asking that St. Lawrence's might be dispensed from the rule of perpetual abstinence, the long fasts, and the rigour of the choir duties, which stood, apparently, in the way of its prosperity. It was rejected. But the year after, President Robinson, on his official visit, thinking, no doubt, that he knew the circumstances of the house better than the Fathers of the Chapter, took it upon himself to grant the dispensation which the Chapter had denied. It was not a constitutional and may be thought a reprehensible act. But a good deal may be excused in a case of urgency. If St. Lawrence's was to keep its place among Benedictine monasteries, it was clear that something must be done at once. The action of the President had the disadvantage of being an experimental remedy. He himself looked to it for the salvation of his monastery, but the Chapter, as a body, had no faith in it. However, there are times when a risky operation is better than none at all. The very attempt at a cure infused a new hope into the diminishing Community.

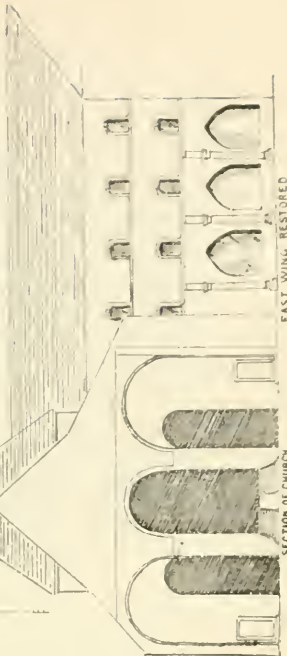


EAST WING

SECTION OF MONASTERY



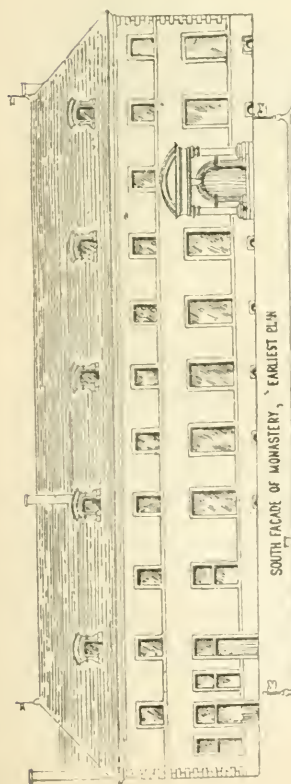
EAST WING, RESTORED, SECTION



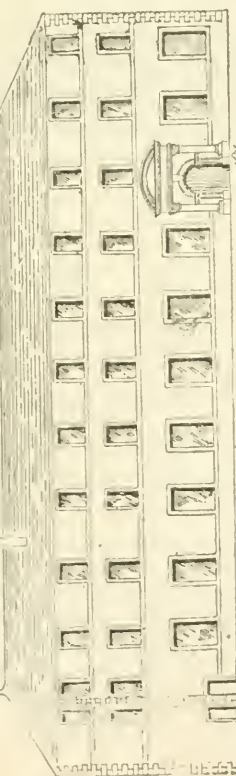
EAST WING, RESTORED

SECTION OF CHURCH

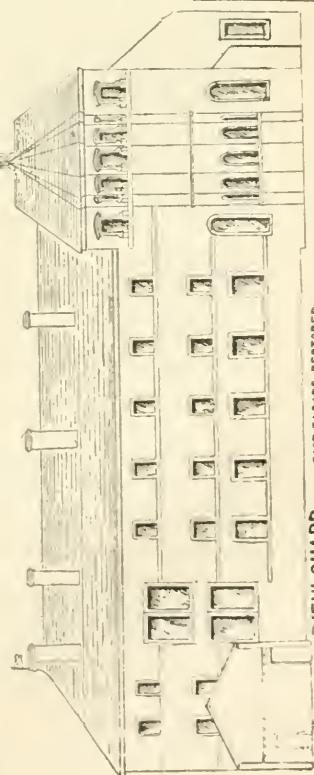
PIEDS DU ROI



SOUTH FACADE OF MONASTERY, EARLIEST PLAN



SOUTH FACADE, LATER PLAN



EAST FACADE RESTORED

DIEULOUARD

The choir duties as relaxed were not light. St. Lawrence's could still claim that it carried out a complete monastic ritual. Tierce, Mass, Vespers, Compline and the antiphon of our Lady after Prime were sung every day.* On Feasts of the second class, the choir, in addition, sang the Te Deum and the Gospel at Matins, the Benedictus at Lauds and the little Hours. On days of the first class there was added the Invitatory and the hymn at Matins. As regards the fasts, all through the year the monks ate nothing until midday,† but they were permitted meat on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays like the other houses of the Congregation. Monday was also privileged, sometimes, in honour of special Feasts. Advent, Septuagesima and Lent continued to be kept with the utmost rigour.

Such was the first measure of relief; the second, a corollary of the first, was the establishment of a College. Up to this date there had been no attempt to found a College, properly so called, at Dieulouard. It was a Monastery of the primitive tradition. The fasts, choir duties and daily abstinence were incompatible with the idea of professorial work. One does not meet with a single reference to pensioners or boys until some time after the middle of the seventeenth century. There was an occasional advanced student or parlour-boarder, but nothing more. St. Gregory's at Douai had always taken students, though only a limited number.‡ St. Edmund's and Lammspring also had something that might be called a College. But at Dieulouard, when it was first founded, there had been no

* The singing of the Salve Regina after Prime and after Compline was a custom with the Canons at Dieulouard before the days of the Benedictines. A small endowment was attached to it.

† Breakfasts was first permitted in 1736 'sub silentio.' v. Visitation Book.

‡ In a printed list of Catholic Monasteries, Nunneries and Colleges of 1709 presented to Parliament, it is stated that the English youths at St. Gregory's have been known to be 59. This if true was exceptional. It is difficult to understand how they could have been accommodated.

desire for students, and neither had any accommodation had been made for them. Fr. Cuthbert Horsley, in the dearth of mature postulants for the habit, realized the need of creating a source of supply. Since enough young men ready to enter the Order, who had been educated elsewhere, could not be found, then young men must be brought up for the purpose at home.

The whole matter was fully discussed at the General Chapter of 1669.

Fr. Augustine Hungate, a little before (in 1661), had advocated a concentration of forces. He saw no true advantage in a number of independent convents. More profit, he thought, would be derived from one large College, one strong Noviciate house, and one Monastery of regular observance for the whole Congregation, from which the priests of the Mission would be drawn. This scheme found a good deal of favour with the Fathers of the Chapter. But there was a great difficulty—the College. None of the existing houses had been so constructed as to be suitable for extensive educational purposes. St. Gregory's was best fitted in that respect, but its accommodation was very limited. Proposals were made to build a new College on a new site, and Fr. Bede Witham and Fr. Augustine Latham each offered sums of money and a promise to furnish a certain number of students with pensions, if its erection should be determined. Another proposition was to make arrangement for students at the Benedictine monastery of Grammont, a town in Flanders between Brussels and Lille. There were proposals also to erect schools in England—one in the North and one in the South Province. It was finally agreed to enlarge St. Gregory's and make it the one only English Benedictine College. In 1669, the scheme was matured and made the matter of a Definition. St. Gregory's undertook the education of all Congregational students in Humanities and Philosophy, and after the course was completed, it

was arranged that the President, in council with the three Priors, should apportion the finished students between the three houses, St. Gregory's, St. Lawrence's and St. Edmund's: Lammspring had no part in the scheme. At the same time, it was decreed that St. Lawrence's should be the common Noviciate house of the Congregation.

The arrangement might have worked well, it would certainly have worked better, if it had had a fair beginning. It was just the sort of scheme which would only commend itself to people by its success. An initial failure must at once discredit it. If St. Gregory's did not manage straightway to make the Common College a Congregational benefit, St. Lawrence's and St. Edmund's would assuredly begin to look after themselves. If St. Lawrence's did not at once make the Noviciate house a success, St. Gregory's and St. Edmund's would prefer to train their own novices. In the dearth just then both of students and novices, neither the College nor the Noviciate could by any possibility show to advantage. It is exceedingly improbable that the two outside houses could have done much to swell the number of the students at St. Gregory's. On the other hand, St. Gregory's, in 1669, had no novices at all to send to Dieulouard. Perhaps some half dozen or so pensioners for Paris and Dieulouard learned their humanities in the house at Douai. Two, and it may be three, St Edmund's postulants made their noviceship at Dieulouard.* But by the middle of the quadriennium the scheme had practically lapsed; St. Lawrence's, no longer received novices from the other houses, and St. Gregory's was the Common College in little more than name.

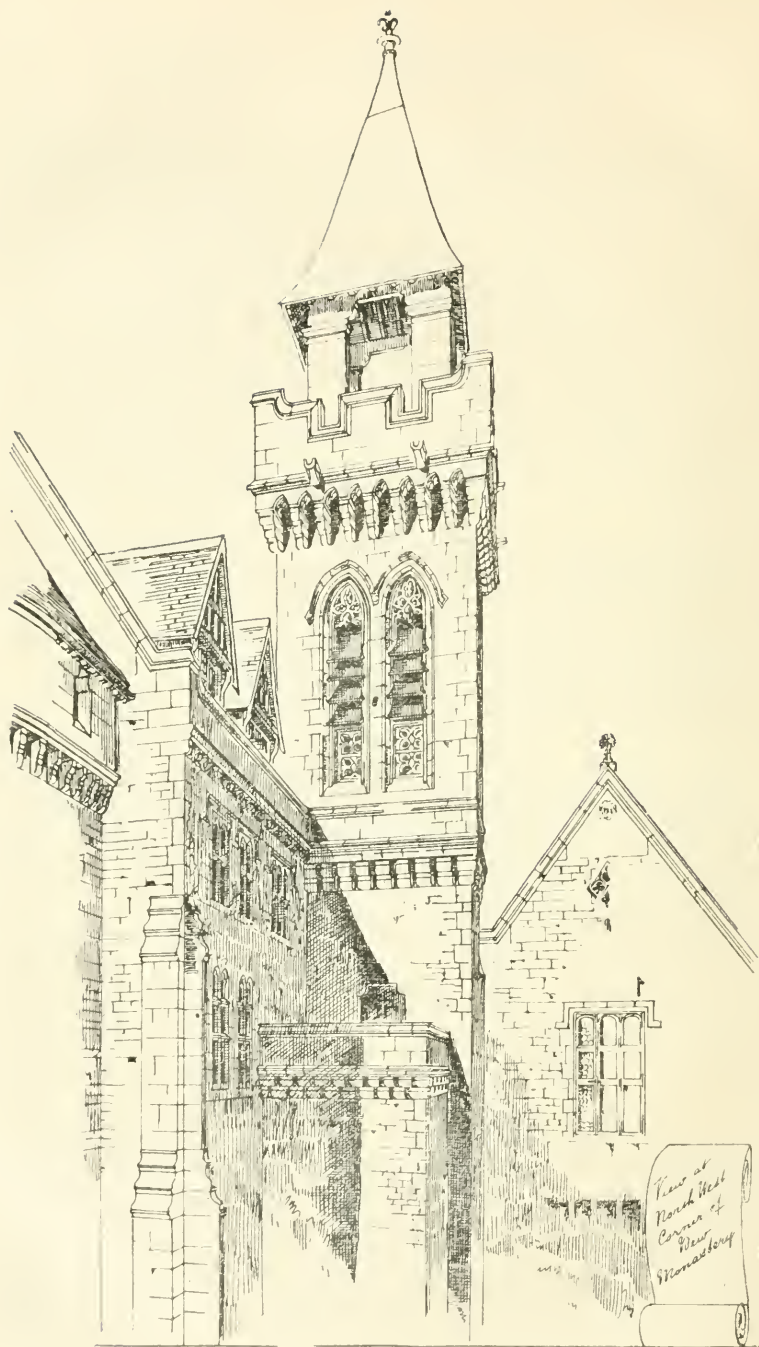
In 1686, we find four pensioners at St. Lawrence's and after that year there is always mention of boys. But it was a small beginning and one with little promise in it.

*Br. Augustine Stelling seems to have been the only Edmundian novice who was actually professed at Dieulouard. His profession paper is still among the Dieulouard relics at Nancy.

As a matter of fact, during many years it was no more than a flickering life just kept from extinction; up to the year 1700 the average number of students was not as high as three; and it was nearly half a century before the College reached double figures. It must have needed courage and patience and an unusual measure of hopefulness to struggle through the long years of scarcity, and to keep up the pretence of an educational establishment—it was little more than that—until the seasons changed and the monks reaped a return for their labours. But it was never for the want of pluck and perseverance that our Fathers of old failed in their many enterprises. Success came in the end.

Something in the way of collegiate buildings was erected at this time. In 1695 and again in 1704, we find mention in the Visitation book of St. Lawrence's, and in the accounts of the monastery, of two building operations. The first of these, no doubt, had to do with the accommodation of students. In all probability, a dormitory and other rooms were erected over the West Cloister. But part of the money, it was 10,263. 2. 11 livres altogether, will have been spent in repairs. At the Chapter of 1701, St. Lawrence's made an appeal for help, because the Monastery was in a ruinous state and threatened to come down—"minabatur ruinam." We may suppose that with this expenditure—a large one for those days—everything was made right both for monks and boys; but as soon as the Community found itself able once again to look the future in the face, and prosperity seemed assured, there came the great Fire of the 13th of October, 1717.

This was a disheartening disaster. It came just when it could do most hurt. The monks were really worse off than in the days when it was proposed to give up Dieulouard altogether. The only account that has come down to us speaks of the whole monastery as burnt to the ground. In effect, this was no exaggeration. The fire originated in a



View of
North West
Corner of
New
Monastery

room contiguous to the Library, and all the books, MSS. and monastic records were destroyed. The architect's plans for the rebuilding of the monastery indicate that the cloisters, because of their stone roofs, and the chief staircase, also of stone, escaped; and the walls of the south block were left standing. The sacristy, which also had a stone roof, seems to have partly withstood the fury of the flames, and probably all its precious contents were saved. There is little doubt that some or all of the furniture and valuables was rescued from the rooms in the south block; the title-deeds of the lands and property held by the monks, together with other important papers, kept, no doubt, in the Prior's room or in the Procurator's office, are still in evidence at Nancy to show that there was salvage. But, however little or much that may have been, the Prior and his Community had to face the task of rebuilding their home and, meanwhile, to find shelter elsewhere. It is recorded that two of the monks were sent for the time to Lammspring; the rest dwelt temporarily in some house or houses possessed by the convent in the village.

If the catastrophe had happened some years earlier, it cannot be doubted that St. Lawrence's would have ceased to exist. But now its vitality was vigorous enough to recover even from so deadly a stroke. The monks had a fair income to subsist upon whilst they sought for funds to undertake the rebuilding of the monastery. They also had friends on whom they could rely. It was not, therefore, a case of despair, especially with such a strong, capable, hopeful leader as Fr. Lawrence Champney, the Prior.

He, at once, began to seek help from every possible quarter. King Louis XV, le Bien Aimé, (November 8, 1717) permitted the Benedictines to appeal, during one year, to the charitable throughout Lorraine and the Barrois. The generous French people contributed no less a sum

than 32,539 francs. English benefactors sent £285 4s. 9d.† Dom. Augustin Calmet, the famous Abbot of Senones, forwarded a donation of books to recommence a Library—a graceful act. Fr. Gregory Riddell, a Gregorian, obtained permission to give his library of more than a hundred volumes, deposited at Cambrai, to his destitute brethren. We may also note a gift of £400, made by Sir George Clifton of Preston as a foundation for the education of a student sixteen years of age, to be chosen every

† The names of these English friends may interest our readers. The first collection was made by Fr. Augustine (Sulyard?) and John Southcott.

Lady Petre	...	...	100	0	0	Lord Arundel	...	...	20	0	0
Lord Petre	...	...	20	0	0	Lord Dormer	...	...	10	10	0
Lord Stafford	...	...	10	0	0	Lady Moore of Fawley	...	...	3	0	0
Mr. Caryll	...	...	20	0	0	Sir Rob. Throckmorton	...	...	20	0	0
Sir Edw. Southcott	...	...	10	0	0	The Parish	...	...	1	0	0
Mr. Holman	...	...	10	0	0	John Cottington	...	...	10	15	0
Mr. Gilliburn	...	...	10	0	0	Chas. Eyston, Esq.	...	...	9	9	0
Dowager Lady Petre	...	...	5	7	6	Mr. Metcalf	...	...	5	7	6
Mrs. Andely	...	...	5	0	0						
Mrs. Coffin	...	...	10	0					£80	1	6
Mr. Birch	...	...	10	0							
Mr. Shewell	...	...	10	0							
Mr. Bolney	...	...	10	0							
Lord Aston	...	...	1	1	6						
Lady Aston	...	...	1	1	6						
Dowager Lady Aston	...	...	1	1	6						
Lady Thos. Howard	...	...	2	3	0						
Sir Anthony Abely	...	...	1	1	6						
Mr. Westurn	...	...	1	7	0						
Mr. Wright	...	...	1	1	6						
Mrs. Wright	...	...	11	7							
John Southcott	...	...	2	3	0						
Mr. Mason	10	0							
Parson Dunbar	5	0							
Mrs. Sherman	5	0							
Gilles and his wife	2	6							
Ditto	1	2							
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£205 3 3											
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It is not stated who made the second collection.

seventh year and employed on the English Mission,—money used in the rebuilding after the fire.*

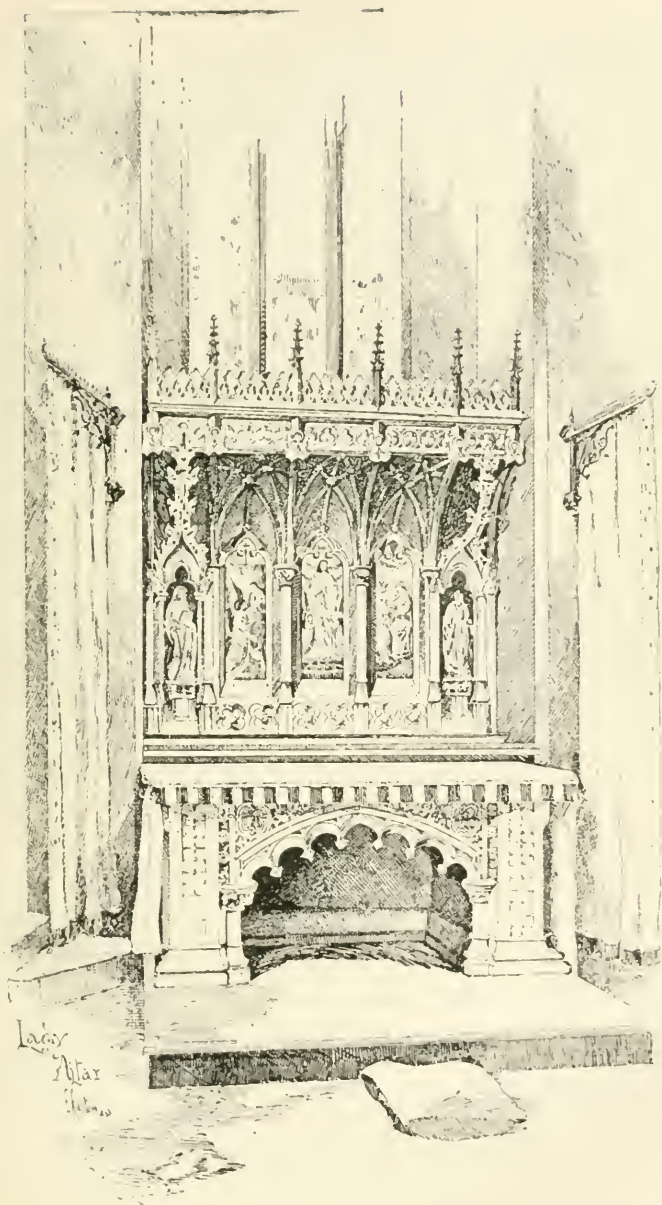
With the blessing of God, and through the kindness of English friends, and still more through the generosity of the people of Lorraine, St. Lawrence's not only survived this severe crisis in its history, but found itself in a sounder position than before. A sum of some £2000 may seem to us in these days a wholly inadequate fund with which to re-erect a monastery and small college. But the mention of one or two items, taken from the procurator's papers—some odds and ends of which are still preserved in the Nancy archives—will show how far a few pounds went in those days. The whole carting bill—the monks doubtless did most of it themselves—only reached the sum of five guineas. A certain Mr. Skynner's contract in 1720, probably the largest, was 'quit,' as the document states, for £40. A year's building operations totalled up to less than £450. As a matter of fact the main work was completed with some 6000 francs still in hand. Fr. Watmough, successor of Fr. Champney,† was able to devote some of the money to what under the circumstances were *articles de luxe*. He had an organ built by Jean Mouchere, "facteur d'orgues du duc Léopold," at the cost of 784 francs. He hung three new bells in the tower of the church, one of which had for godfather Jean Baptiste Joseph Boursier-de-Villers, baron d'Amécourt, councillor of the State, who stood as representative of the King. He also spent 312 livres over a bronze lectern, "lutrín de bronze ciselée," made by "le sieur Jonquoy, maître-fondeur et ciseleur de Léopold", after the design of James Warren. It is most probable also that the beautiful wood-carving of the pulpit and the confessional was paid for out of the

* All the students of this fund were obliged to take the name of Clifton. This foundation was confirmed at the Chapter of 1733.

† Fr. Allanson gives the credit for the raising of the money and the rebuilding of the convent to Fr. Watmough, but this does not tally with the Nancy records.

surplus money left after the reparation of the burnt monastery.

God had certainly been good to the monks in the hour of their trouble. Four years after the fire, they took possession of their new home and brought back Fr. Edward Houghton and Fr. Ambrose East from Lammspring. Two years later still, they took novices and students again, with greatly improved accommodation for them. The destruction of the Library and the MSS., said to have been of considerable intrinsic value, was no doubt irreparable. We can understand that the loss was greatly felt when it took place. But to those who had never seen or handled the treasures, and to us who have no knowledge of them at all, it was and is as though they had never existed. The preservation of the title-deeds and legal papers proved to be a special Providence, for which both the monks and we have reason to be grateful. It is to them we owe most of the facts upon which this history is based. Their existence saved Fr. Watmough and his Community from loss of valuable rights and from some spoliation of property. "Wheresoever the body shall be, thither will the eagles be gathered together." A multitude of claims of one sort or another was brought against the monastic estates by various neighbours, co-heirs and others, on the supposition that the fire had consumed the documents connected with them. Mostly, they were old quarrels already settled by the Courts. It was a mean advantage to take of the monks' misfortune; but there is no difficulty in supposing that the claimants or disputants believed in the justice of their suits. A legal decision is not very convincing to the one who loses his case. Manorial privileges, pasture, fishing, woodland and water rights, wills also and the dividing of estates, are just the things over which the best friends will fall out, and honest men see no harm in the making use of shady methods to serve their ends. It is not unlikely, it is even most probable, that these



very litigants had contributed generously to the rebuilding of the convent. They were good men, doubtless; but there is also no doubt that they tried to make profit out of the disaster to the monastery. The claims were mostly dropped when it was discovered that the legal records had escaped the burning; and some old Prior or Procurator has endorsed a large bundle of 'enquêtes,' 'précis,' 'déclarations,' &c., with his thanks that the fire had not left them at the mercy of their unscrupulous friends.

This chapter telling of the great fire, the tradition of which is still preserved at Ampleforth by the recital of special prayers on the Feast of St. Wilfrid,* may fittingly be brought to a close by the mention of other slighter but distressing events. In 1665, Fr. Dunstan Pettinger, serving on the Mission in London, died there, carried off by the great plague. In 1689, the then Prior of the house, Fr. Mellitus Walmesley, was drowned in the Mozelle. In 1724, the river overflowed its banks, carrying away the paper-mill and twenty-four houses, destroying the remains of the Constantine monument, and doing incredible damage to farms and property. Finally, in 1731, the steeple of the monastery church of St. Lawrence was struck by lightning and destroyed. It was a wooden structure and was repaired at the small cost of 650 livres.

* Prior Marsh instituted these prayers, as the Council book shows, because of the destruction of the Monastery at the Revolution. The two catastrophes took place on the same day of the year.

CHAPTER XXI.

An Education Act.

SOME curious readers may have wondered why, in this narrative, the prefix *Father* has been uniformly used in speaking of our English Benedictines, and not the more monastic-sounding title *Dom*. The truth is that in this matter, together with the make of the monastic habit—the hood in particular—our Fathers had up to this date conformed to the Spanish customs. Any one who reads the *Apostolatus* can hardly fail to notice that the authors, with some care, style the Cluniac, the Cassinese and the Westminster monks, Domni, whilst those of the Spanish Profession have the prefix *R.P.*, or simple *Pater* or *F.* for *Frater*. (Don or Dom was not, as every one knows, distinctive of a monk amongst Spaniards.) To take a simple instance: in the summons to the nine Definitors, chosen to determine the form the English Congregation should take, the names of Leander of St. Martin, Gabriel of St. Mary, Robert Haddock, Rudesind Barlow, Benedict Jones and Torquatus Lathom, all of the Spanish Profession, have the prefix *F.* or *Frater*, whilst Robert Vincent Sadler, Edward Maihew, and Sigebert Bagshaw are distinguished by *D.* or *Dom*. Again, on page 23, we have Leander Jones, Benedict Jones and Walgrave always with the prefix *P.*, or *Pater*, whilst it is *D.* Sebertus (Buckley) *D.* Anselmus (Beech) and *D.* Thomas Preston. In some mentions of the Westminster monks who afterwards joined the new English Congregation, Maihew and Bagshaw for instance, the Letter *P.* is occasionally prefixed to the name—they dropped the prefix *D.* when

they became united with their brethren of the Spanish Congregation; but the *D.* or *Dom.* is carefully omitted before the names of the Benedictines of the Spanish Profession.*

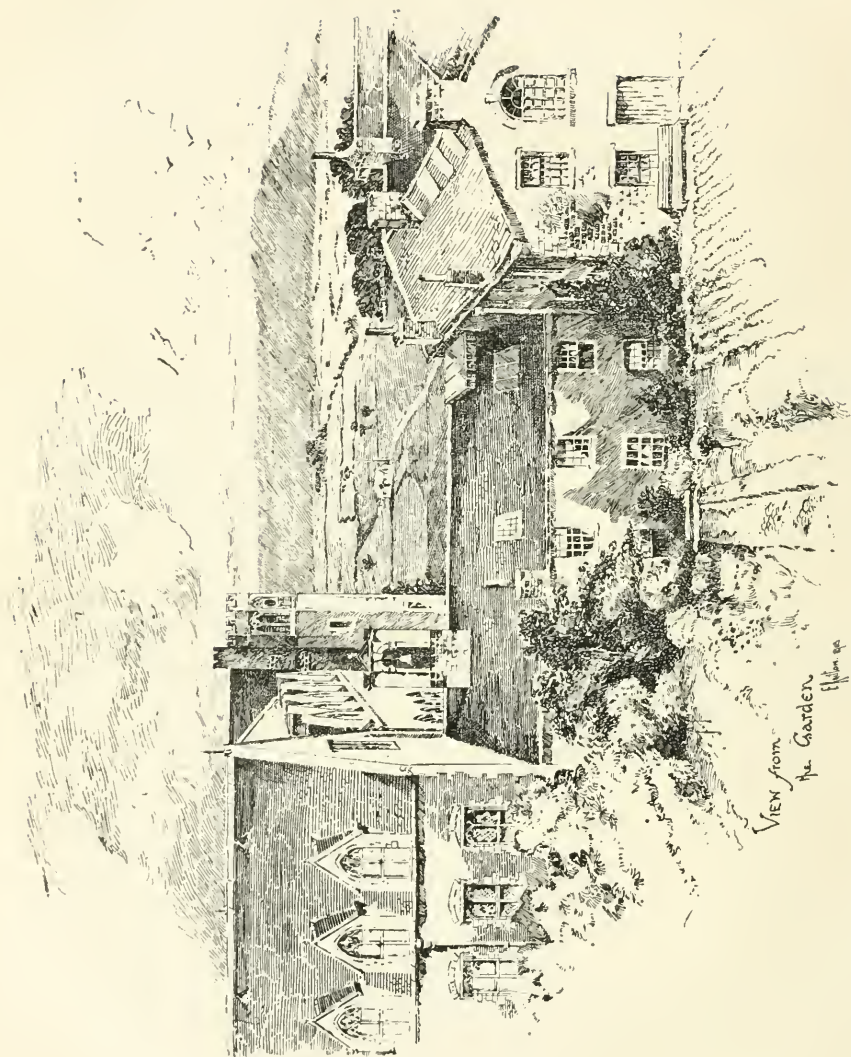
The few slender threads which coupled together the Spanish and English Congregations were never fit to bear much strain. One by one they gave way. There is no likelihood that our Fathers troubled themselves to ask the Spanish General's needed permission to assume the title of Doctor after they had taken their degree. Very soon his privilege to appoint one of the two elect candidates as President General was found an inconvenience. Thus, we find Fr. Lawrence Reyner remonstrating about the delay it caused in 1655, and in 1661 the English Chapter decreed its abolition. Only a very few of the Spanish customs and ceremonial observances survived the change of climate. The English Constitutions themselves had gradually grown out of any, even the most distant, resemblance to the Spanish, though the Spanish imprints (1706) continued to make use of the high-sounding title: "Constituciones de la Congregation de nuestro glorioso Padre San Benito de España e Inglaterra." Now, in 1725, the General Chapter decreed that another small link should be broken. The Fathers of the English Congregation formally assumed the title of *Domini*, † in imitation of the French Congregations and, of course, of the Italian and old English Benedictines before the Reformation. The Definition was renewed at the following Chapter, and was then dropped out of the decrees. Fr. Allanson has understood this as a rejection

* The use of the *Dom* as a prefix to the surname is a wholly French and comparatively recent custom. *Dom* Buckley or *Dom* Baker would have been an inadmissible use of the title in the hearing of the individuals. It would have sounded to them like *Sir Gladstone* or *Sir Smith*. To call the Venerable Father John Roberts, a Spanish monk, *Dom Roberts* is therefore doubly incorrect.

† "Sicque ad se invicem scribant." Chapter Decree.

of it on a more mature consideration or because of new circumstances. The greater probability is that it was left out because it had then been sufficiently published.

The occasion of the adoption of the prefix *Dom* was the naturalization of the English houses in France as French Communities. It seemed just then to be to the advantage of the English to make themselves as like their French brethren as possible. Up to this date it had not been thought advisable to make use of the title. It had been an object with them to distinguish themselves from the French Benedictines. Not that the English Congregation felt or showed any, even the slightest, jealousy, or suspected in the Cluny or Maurist Congregations any unfriendliness or opposition. On the contrary, in 1641 the English General Chapter passed a decree that, since in France the Benedictine observance flourished bravely (*nobiliter*), the English Benedictines granted the Superior General of the Cluny and Maurist Congregation, the privilege of making a quadriennial Visitation in their monasteries and convents, and commanded that the statutes of such a Visitation should be received and obeyed as though issued at the Visit of their own President. No more broad-minded proof of good fellowship has ever been offered by one Congregation to another. But our Fathers had all along been forced to consider whether it was better to emphasize their brotherly connection with their French brethren or to make display of their foreign origin. There were times when English properties were privileged and French benefices taxed. In 1650, when Louis XIV had decided that such more recent Orders and Houses as had not received, or did not secure, his approbation should be dissolved, St. Gregory's as a Spanish foundation and St. Lawrence's as a Lorraine foundation were easily admitted as exceptions, whilst St. Edmund's as a French foundation had to exert itself, and bring influence to bear, in order to obtain recognition. At this period of their history, St. Gregory's



View from
the Garden
Hilltop

and St. Lawrence's had to thank their Congregational union with St. Edmund's, at Paris, a legalized French Community, for the favour which secured them from dissolution, or from such fines and confiscations of benefices as would have been equivalent to dissolution. The whole matter depended on the ever-changing political relations of France with England. In 1650, England and France were friendly, and in 1671 they were allies in the war with Holland. In 1692, they were declared enemies, and in 1704 the French armies had been worsted by Marlborough. During the friendly years, St. Edmund's had received royal authorisation (1650), naturalisation and permission to receive and hold benefices (1674), and full confirmation of all these privileges (1676). When England and France stood in opposition to each other towards the close of the seventeenth century, we find (1680) an account of all their possessions demanded from the monks of Dieulouard, and "foy et hommage" required from the Prior, John Girlington; in 1682 and 1689 fresh accounts of their goods, and new taxes; in 1690 more taxes; in 1706 still further taxes, together with talk of confiscation and dissolution.

Weldon tells us (p. 255) that "the queen preserved our house of Dieulouart from being dissolved by the King of France, because he said it was established without his Patents,"—a very patent fact since Lorraine did not belong to the King of France when the monastery was founded. The Dieulouard Visitation book corroborates the statement in an entry of the year 1710. But "the queen" cannot have been Henrietta Maria—as it has been generally supposed—since both the royalties of that name were dead when the question was under discussion,—the relict of Charles II in 1669 and the wife of Philippe of Orleans in 1670. The queen referred to was probably the widow of James II of England, Maria d'Este, of Modena. The only other possible candidates for the honour are Madame de Maintenon and the Protestant Queen of England. But, whoever the

royal benefactress may have been, St. Lawrence's, in effect, as the King's letters say, owed its security to its connection with St. Edmund's, and also, no doubt to its inoffensiveness, its long sojourn in France, the taxes it paid so readily, and to the King's timidity in the matter of Ecclesiastical property. Whatever the reason, however, it must be admitted that the French king treated the English monks and their possessions, when he was at war with England, far better than our English kings had treated the Cjuniac establishments in the days of the Edwards. In 1724, the monks of St. Lawrence's in consideration of its connection with St. Edmund's, a naturalized French house, received from Louis XV letters of naturalization* which placed them on the same footing as their

* Several copies of these Letters are in the Nancy Archives. They begin "Louis, par la grâce de Dieu, roy de France et de Navarre . . . Nos bien aimés les religieux Bénédictins anglais du couvent St-Laurent de Dieu-le-ward, au diocèse de Toul, nous ont fait remontrer que le feu roy Louis XIV, de glorieuse memoire . . . bien informé que les religieux Bénédictins anglais ne contribueraient pas peu, par les missions auxquelles ils sont employés, au soutien de la religion, leur avait permis par ses Lettres-patentes du mois d'octobre 1650 de s'établir en notre bonne ville de Paris, d'y acquérir tels biens et fonds qu'ils jugeraient à propos . . . Les Exposants, dont le monastère est soumis à notre domination, formant avec les Bénédictins anglais établis à Paris une même Congrégation concourant également au soutien de la religion par les missions en Angleterre auxquelles ils sont employés, n'ont pas moins besoin de notre protection particulière, n'ayant d'autres fondations que les dots que les religieux qui y font profession y apportent, dots pour la plupart peu considérables, qui ne peuvent que diminuer dans la suite par la nouvelle imposition faite en Angleterre sur les biens des catholiques, en sorte que les Bénédictins anglais, quoique plusieurs soient issus de maisons de distinction en Angleterre, ne peuvent recevoir aucun secours de leurs familles . . . À ces causes . . . nous avons, par ces présentes signées de notre main, permis, accordé et octroyé aux Bénédictins anglais du couvent de St. Laurent de Dieu-le-Vard, de pouvoir posséder les bénéfices et dignités de leur Ordre, et de jouir des mêmes avantages accordés aux religieux anglais de Paris, comme s'ils étaient natifs de notre royaume . . . Voulons que les religieux de ladite Congrégation, qui auront fait profession en icelle dans les dits couvents de notre domination, jouissent de tous les avantages de nos sujets naturels . . . car tel est notre bon plaisir . . . Donné à Versailles, au mois de juin, l'an de grâce mil sept cent vingt-quatre, et de notre règne le neuvième. Signé : Louis."

French brethren.* And not until the Revolution, or the troubles immediately preceding it, was the King's bounty, either in money (twenty-five pounds English money a year, says Weldon, but the account books show that it was variable) or in salt, withdrawn.†

As has been stated, St. Lawrence's before 1700 had a College—a very little one—of its own. In consequence, all during the eighteenth century, the number of its monks showed a constant, if slow, increase, whilst with St. Edmund's there was an equally constant decrease, and St. Gregory's began to lose its distinguished pre-eminence in subjects. This was not satisfactory. It was no gain to the Congregation for one house to better itself whilst the others lost ground. Hence, we find in the Chapter definitions further attempts to improve the College system. The old scheme of a common house of studies and common noviciate still haunted the minds of the Capitular Fathers as the solution of the difficulty. It was decreed again in 1725, as also were the preparatory Colleges in the North and South Provinces; once more with failure as the result. There was not even a trial made of the scheme, except the birth, still-born, of a school at Redmarley in Gloucestershire. Things remained as before. Each monastery was left to work out its own salvation. St. Lawrence's had no reason to be disturbed at the ill-success of these official remedies. Its College was growing in importance, and if still a little one, it was large enough for Fr. Howard, the President General, to take it upon himself to re-arrange the course of studies. This was in 1761.

The next move in the common college and noviciate matter was made by the French king Louis XV. In 1761

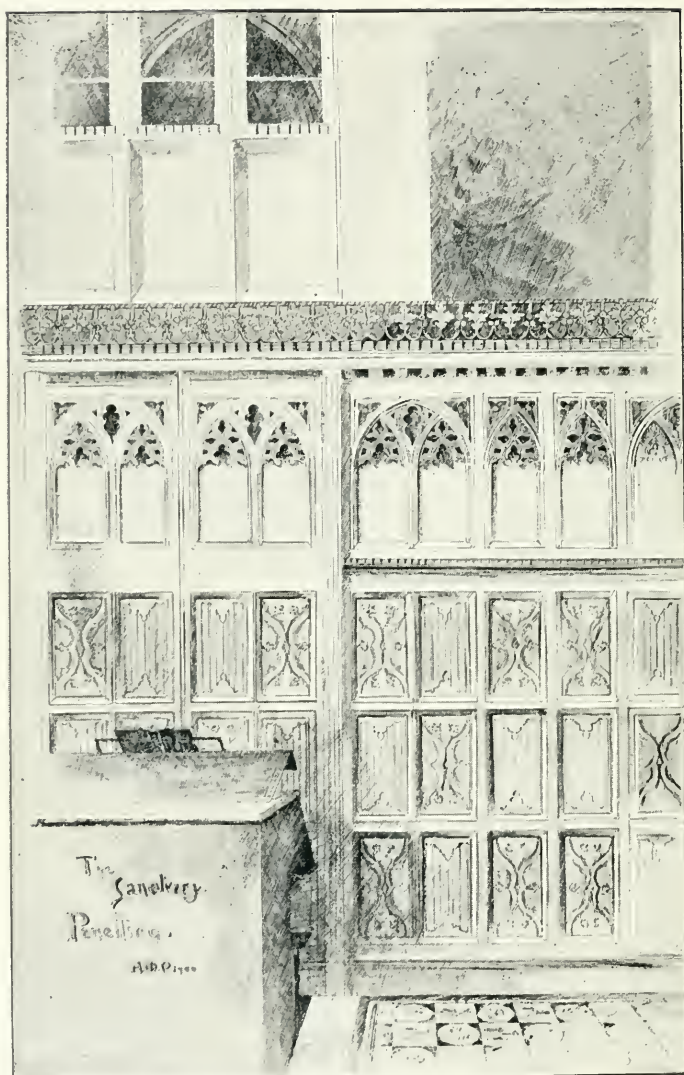
* Archives Départementales. Notice Historique, p. 110.

† Weldon's remark about the King's alms "which has only ceased this 1709" proved afterwards to be a misstatement. They were continued in the case of Dieulouard until the late years of Louis the Sixteenth's reign. Arrears were also faithfully paid up.

he determined on the reform of all the monastic establishments in France. His project took the shape of a decree that all monastic constitutions should be revised under the superintendence of his commissioners and should obtain Royal authorization; that each conventual house must consist at least of a Superior and eight other religious; that the Professions of men before the age of twenty-one, and of women before the age of eighteen were illegal and were to be accounted null; and, finally, that all Congregations should have a common noviciate. The English Benedictines had no choice but to submit to these regulations. They therefore drew up new Constitutions, approved of by Chapter in 1773, and after much trouble and correction authorized by the King in 1781; they decreed, at the same Chapter, obedience to the royal ordinance concerning the age of Profession; and they determined afresh to erect a common noviciate—the last scheme with the same signal result met with on the former occasions.

This time, it was St. Gregory's which was made the noviciate house and house of higher studies, whilst St. Lawrence's undertook to educate the students in the humanities. St. Edmund's consented cheerfully to an arrangement which left it out and seemed to ignore it, but which in reality freed it from the difficulty of governing and training young men in a house which had the dissipations of Paris clamouring without its walls. The scheme was given a trial—a short one, but sufficient to prove it unworkable,—at the time and under the circumstances. About twenty Benedictine students were gathered by the three Priors at Dieulouard, and the Benedictine College was formally inaugurated in 1779 by President Walker, who has left in the Visitation book a solemn request that the Prior should watch carefully over the boys and see that "*in vera et solida Pietate instruantur et docti tandem evadent.*"

The lay reader may wonder why such a scheme should



have failed as it did. Besides that it was ordered by the French Government, it had obvious advantages. That each house would gain by confining its efforts to the better teaching of a portion of the long course of studies spread over the years from early boyhood to full manhood, thus specialising its work and so rendering it more efficient, is indisputable. If, moreover, St. Edmund's could have undertaken the university preparation whilst St. Lawrence's and St. Gregory's confined themselves respectively to the humanities and the higher philosophic sections of the course, the scheme on paper would have been perfect. This, in fact, was the original proposition, both of the French authorities and the Benedictine Chapter; it was worldly Paris and the objectionable Molinist teaching of the Sorbonne which had determined our Fathers to leave St. Edmund's out of the arrangement. But why should not St. Gregory's and St. Lawrence's have successfully divided the work between them? Money transactions between members of a family are not conducive to mutual harmony, but the General Chapter could regulate such matters—as in fact it undertook to do. Why should not St. Gregory's have been willing to send its youths to school at St. Lawrence's, and St. Lawrence's to send its young men to the Douai University? Parents do such things with their children everyday. The truth seems to be that, in practice, a Gregorian student educated partly at St. Lawrence's, and a Laurentian educated partly at St. Gregory's, were, by so much, the less Gregorian and the less Laurentian. Neither house, probably, felt altogether satisfied with the training or progress of certain of their own students at the other house. This is not casting a slur on the efficiency of either Community. An *Alma Mater* is quite as jealous of its own as the most exacting parent. It can hardly bring itself to believe that another can understand its children or care for them as it can and does itself. If the students had been educated, professed

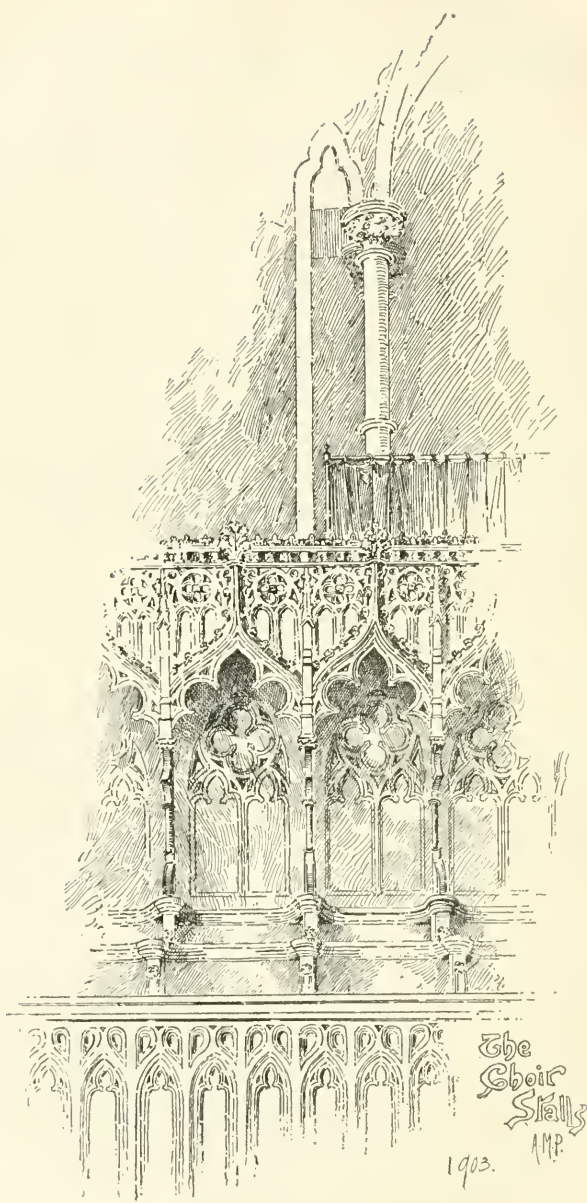
and made priests for the Congregation, without attachment to any house in particular—this was proposed at the Chapter—a cosmopolitan training would have been unobjectionable. No doubt either house could have sent its students to a wholly unrelated house, regretfully, perhaps, but with equanimity. It was just because the two Communities were so closely akin, the distinctions and differences of characters so nice and delicate, that the spirit of the one was, or seemed to be, destructive of the spirit of the other. Whether the composite result was not really better than either is another question. It remains that Douai wished its students to be purely Gregorian, and Dieulouard that its young men should be wholly Laurentian, and neither can be blamed for doing so. St. Edmund's, perforce, continued to send its novices to St. Gregory's; but its ever diminishing numbers, in spite of the loyalty and fidelity of the Gregorians to their trust, proved that, whatever may be said for it, there was some inherent fault in this much debated Monastic Education Act.

English college boys are pretty much the same all the world over, and, so, little need be said of those at Dieulouard. The education they got, whether ecclesiastical students or not, must have had an ecclesiastical cast. Languages both ancient and modern would be well taught. There is mention in the Dieulouard papers of a "Dom Francis Louard, maître des jeunes," doubtless a French professor from a Lorraine monastery. The college accounts speak of wires purchased for the spinet and also of a salaried organist—indications that some of the boys learnt the ancient equivalent to the pianoforte. There is mention of "catgut for Mademoiselle George," who, one may suppose, gave lessons on the violin. The dress of the pensioners would seem funny to a modern English student. 'Powder for the pensioners' hair' and the 'dressing of the pensioners' hair' are regular items, and there is mention also of wigs. "To skins for breeches" tells us of the

durable nature of a portion of the outward wear, and “to linen for sacks and brats” of the washable nature of the rest of it—the belted linen blouse or overall, still worn by the French youth. One of the games played by the boys, the game of horniholes—if that is the correct spelling—is well known from its retention still, as something more than an archæological relic, at Ampleforth. There are so many mentions of skates or ‘sliding irons’ that skating must have been unusually good; it was clearly a favourite pastime with both monks and boys, and was enjoyed no doubt on the low-lying fields on the banks of the Mozelle, converted into lakes by the winter floods. The large farms of the estate made abundance of the best food a certainty, but there are many items in the procurator’s book which have to do with luxuries. Red herrings the students no doubt would have met with in their native land, but “To Jean Houin for 550 frogs” and also “To crayfish” show that delicacies rare to the English palate were put before them. At Dom Basil Brindle’s first Mass there was a treat which cost 56 livres, 11 sous; there was another at Br. Alexius Pope’s profession. “Lemons for sack,” and 79 francs for “gratifications to students,” have a pleasant sound, and both items occur with some regularity. A dish of tea was also a possibility, since we find the procurator forwarding a parcel of the fragrant leaf to a certain Lady Kennedy, who was apparently unable herself to procure it among the foreigners. For the rest, the school items of the Procurator’s book are made up of pensions, pocket-money, the sale of small articles to the boys (such as an English pen-knife to the Chevalier du Tumorai), the purchase of clothes, “to drawing of a tooth,” to Madame Gastaldi’s coachman, “to the portrait painter for picture of Bird” and the like—items which tells us that schoolboys were pretty much the same then as they are now; that, though far away from home, their parents sometimes came to visit them; that the spirit of the place was liberal;

and that the life there, taken as a whole, was far less primitive and rough than in many an English College of fifty years ago.

An item which affected the monks rather more than the students, and which naturally catches one's attention and excites curiosity, is the cost of journeys. We are inclined to think that to coach it from Lancashire or Somersets hire to the English coast, and then, after crossing the seas as one found opportunity, to post through strange lands to the banks of Mozelle, must have been not unlike a modern pilgrimage, without the help of Messrs. Cook or Gaze, to Bulgaria or the Caucasus, or some equally inaccessible region. The long journey had its hardships, as we know, and was adventurous enough to satisfy even a schoolboy's idea of romance. But it grows upon one who turns over the leaves of an account book like that kept by the Dieulouard Procurator that travelling was neither so difficult, nor so expensive, as we should be inclined to fancy. We notice that, as a rule, the pensioners remained at College until their course was complete. But journeys are frequent, long and cheap. Young men who are leaving College go off with from 40 to 50 francs in their pocket with which to make their way back to England and home. "Fr. Prior's (Jerome Marsh's) journey to Nancy for the barber"—seemingly his hair or wig was too important to be entrusted to the local practitioner—cost only four francs,—about a modern third-class railway fare. Of course, in a long journey, it was arranged, as far as possible, to make the stages from one friend's house to another. A boy leaving for home would, no doubt, be sent off with a number of letters of introduction in his pocket, commending him to the care and the hospitality of various lay and clerical acquaintances of the Prior or the House. This was the pleasant and kindly practice of those days. But, except by post on horseback or in private coaches, travelling, unless for the time spent in making the distance,



was cheaper in France then than it is now. A stage from Paris to Orleans at the beginning of the 17th century cost no more than 75 sous. There were cheap fares and privileges, and even special vehicles, for students; more particularly for those going to and from a University. The law protected any who were studying for a degree, even so far as to permit them, if clerics, to retain their benefices, and to be excused absence and the non-fulfilment of their obligations. There was abuse of these privileges; that was to be expected. Some vagabond scholars, for instance, found it a pleasant way of spending their lives to go from university to university, in the pretended pursuit of learning, never of course attempting to take the degree which would put an end to their privileges. But the wise and enlightened policy which enacted such laws was a great benefit to the Community of St. Lawrence's, separated as it was by so many long leagues from the English shores.



At Kirby Moorside

(Old Chapel Now carpenter's
Shop as formerly)

A.M.P. 97

CHAPTER XXII.

Before the Revolution.

WELDON writes of St. Lawrence's that, up to the year 1707, it "had given to the Church a most illustrious Archbishop of most rare piety and learning; two mitred Abbots; eleven Presidents to the Congregation; several Provincials, who were for many years Superiors of the Mission in England. It numbers its Priors to fifteen, its

Monks to ninety-four, who have been so industrious that our Abbey of Lamspring in Germany and our Priors of St. Malo in Brittany and St. Edmund's in Paris owe their beginning to Dieulouard." * Fr. Allanson, in his history, makes a difficulty about the eleven Presidents,† but, however we look at it, the record is a striking one. Between 1707 and the French Revolution it was greatly improved. In financial matters, however, it was reputed to be very poor still. Fr. Richard Marsh is credited with saying that the annual revenue of the Convent at its dissolution was only about £532 a year.‡ But of this we shall have occasion to hear later. At present, among many other notable Presidents, Provincials and leaders of the English Congregation brought up at Dieulouard, let us select one man for particular notice, the elder Fr. Placid Naylor.

Perhaps, in his own days, there would have been some wonder at his being preferred in history for special distinction. His life was a very retired one, and even accession to the office of Provincial and President made little change in the manner of it. He was a young religious at Dieulouard at the time of the Fire, and remained there, filling the office of Procurator, until the year 1725. Then he went on the mission in the North Province and lived at Brindle for 47 years. This is an uneventful record. But it is no exaggeration to say that no Benedictine of his time, and few before or since, can be credited with more sterling, successful work for the Catholic Church and for his own Order. He built the church and house at Brindle out of his own money and put the mission on a secure footing. But this was the least meritorious part of his labours. He had the gifts of an Apostle, and he

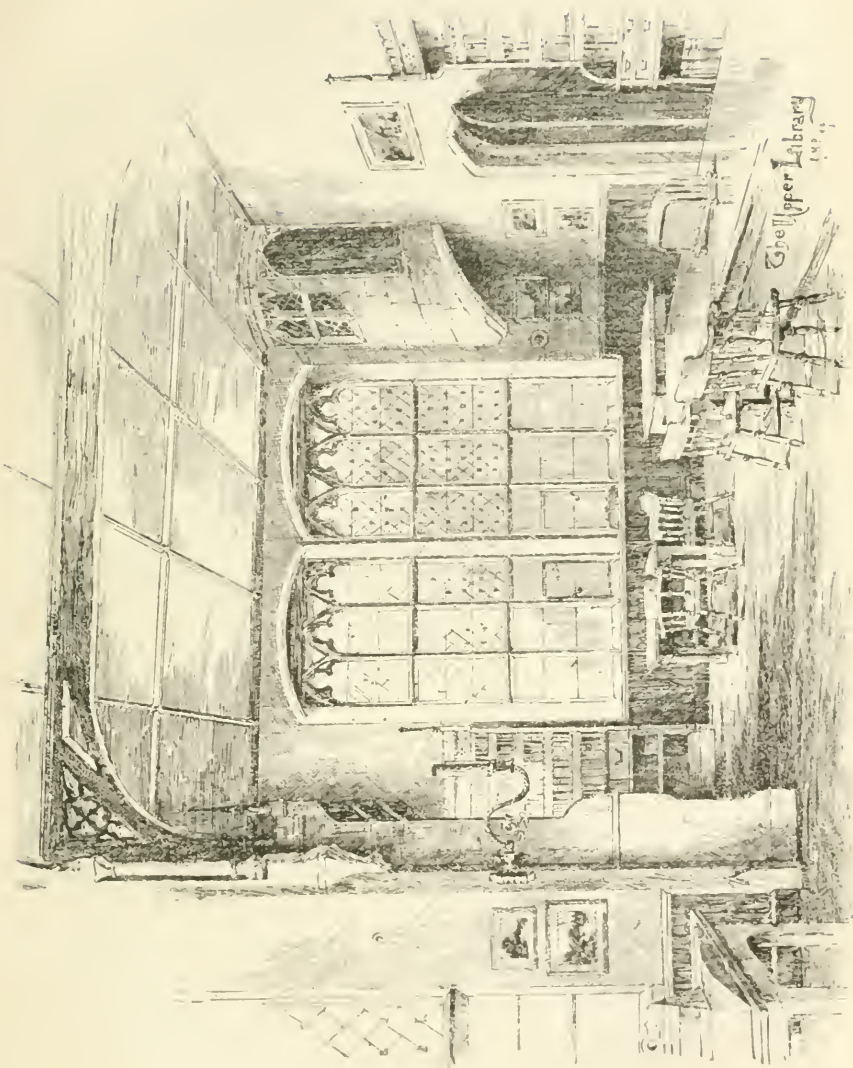
* Weldon, Records I. 24.

† He does not seem to count among them Fr. Sigebert Bagshaw, who was, however, undoubtedly a Laurentian.

‡ Allanson's Records II. p. 270.

revived the Catholic Religion in the neighbourhood of Preston at a time when it was threatening extinction. How much the faith in Lancashire owes to him it is impossible rightly to estimate. Other excellent priests have continued the work that he began; other excellent missionaries helped at the time. But, for the thousands of Catholics in the district round about Brindle and the many churches, for the scores of good priests and monks who have been given to Religion by the pious families of the neighbourhood, the first and chief credit should belong to this devout and devoted monk. Our Benedictine annals simply note that Fr. Naylor "took lively interest in getting students for the different convents," but even this slight mention helps to tell the story of his apostolate.

Naturally, his brethren honoured and trusted him. For twenty-five years, from 1741 to 1766, he was Provincial of the North Province, and for the whole of this time the second-elect President. He himself was most anxious not to have the responsible duties of the headship of the Congregation thrust upon him. As long as they could his brethren respected this wish. Perhaps they were regretful to disturb his labours at Brindle. But it seems to have been always a satisfaction to them to know that, in case of any accident to the President they had chosen, his place would be filled by one in whom all had such perfect confidence. Many missions were founded during Naylor's reign as Provincial of the North. But his chief official work was the fostering of the Province fund. In a letter to his successor, who in this respect followed in his footsteps, he says that he looked upon the deposit as sacred. The prosperity of the Northern Benedictine Mission was assured by his wisdom and judgment. He left in the hands of his successor a funded property of £10,482, more than double the money which had been entrusted to his care. On the death of Fr. Placid Howard in 1766, Naylor succeeded to the chief office of the Congre-



gation. He was re-elected at the Chapter of 1769. But his Presidential term was a short one, for he died when making his Visitation at Dieulouard in 1772.

Leaving with this slight notice this admirable monk, of whose unostentatious labours the least that can be said is that, if they were in no way uncommon, God blessed them and prospered them above those of his fellow workers on the Mission, let us turn to the state of St. Lawrence's at the moment when it was wrecked by the waves of the French Revolution, which even in so remote a district broke with overwhelming force. Prior Richard Marsh has been noticed as recording its poverty. In a sense his statement is an exact one, but it needs some explanation. Fortunately, the fragmentary records of Dieulouard in the Archives Départementales enable us to know just how matters stood with the little foreign settlement in Lorraine.

The annual income from the property held by the monks, all—with the exception of Jaillon and the confraternity endowments—acquired either by purchase or legacy, varied with the seasons, but was estimated at about 8000 livres, counting in the home farm, vineyards and woods, which brought in some 3000 livres. To this is added in the *status* 800 livres, the annual income from the benefice of St. Macaire in Anjou. The funded property of the house, as we find from the same *status*, represented a capital of 104,343 livres, about half of which was invested in public securities—Hôtel de Ville bonds, City bonds, Bridge bonds (Blackfriars) and India bonds; the rest of the money was lent to responsible persons at 5 to 4 per cent. The annual revenue from this capital came to 3594 livres. Putting these sums together and taking them at the then exceedingly low rate of exchange, 28 livres Barrois to the English pound, the monastery of St. Lawrence, in 1774,* had a fixed endowment of about £440 a year. In addition to this

* I have this *status* so dated in my notes. But I think circa 1773 would be more accurate.

there was the King's charity in money and free salt. Hence Prior Marsh's estimate of £532* per annum at the Revolution clearly refers only to the income from landed and invested property. But to understand the financial position of the house there are other items which should be considered—the dowries of the monks, the pensions of the students, and the profits of the Brewhouse. These, at a very low reckoning, would about treble the fixed income from property. They were variable sources of income, it is true, any one of which might, on occasion, fail to be of much value; but, as a rule, the students may be taken as paying for themselves, and the other sources would naturally develop with prosperity, and, in a rough way, would generally be proportionate to the need of them. The permanent obligations, besides the 'President's quota,' were three burses for the education of English missionaries: the Clifton foundation already mentioned, another called of Chevalier Smith (Sir Edward Smythe of Acton Burnell), £290 sunk in the farm of Rozière, and another, the gift of a certain Madame Morelli, £300 placed in the funds. Of incidental or temporary obligations there is no need to take any notice here.†

* Prior Marsh's reckoning is confessedly at 23 livres to the English pound, and the income from invested funds was increased about one third before the Revolution.

† The particulars of the above status may be of interest to some readers.

Annual Income from Landed Property.

					livres.
Tiller-on-Haye	...	...	...	...	333
Jaillon	...	...	...	...	223
Loisy	...	...	...	...	93
St. Geneviève	...	...	...	...	170
Dieulouard	...	...	...	...	930
Bezaumont	...	...	...	...	186
Chénicourt	...	...	...	...	161
Lands in our hands	...	...	...	...	1810
Marivaux	...	...	...	...	1185. 8. 4.

Taking into full consideration the difference between the cost of living at the present day in England and of maintenance at Dieulouard in the 18th century—£20 to £25 was a good salary for a student, and money may be taken as then more than double its present value*—it is quite evident that St. Lawrence's could never rank as a wealthy monastery. In a district of small holdings, and among *petits seigneurs*, its possessions attracted notice. But it was a village notoriety. There was nothing to tempt the greed of a needy government or, with the exception of the Brewery, nothing to excite the jealousy of the neigh-

Rosière-en-Haye	...	...	...	700
Mazures	...	...	...	12
Houses at Dieulouard	...	...	...	141. 8. 8.
L'Eau de Brion	...	...	...	121
Vines in our hands	...	...	...	435
Woods	...	...	...	800
Mr. Turner's Benefice	...	...	...	800

Money in Securities.

Capital	Livres.				Interest. Livres.
Lent to ye Celestins (1 p.c.)	20020.	17	800. 16. 6.
To John Morey's children (5 p.c.)	373.	3	18. 15.
To ye Town House at Paris	32291.	...	747. 16. 3.
To 4 Bridge Bonds (1 p.c.)	11200.	...	448.
To a City Bond (4 p.c.)	2800.	...	112.
To Mrs. Chadwick (1½ p.c.)	2800.	...	119.
To Mr. Peter Harrison	1400.	...	58.
To Mr. Hayes' Daughter	280.	...	11. 2.
To Frank Chadwick	2800.	...	119.
To Wm. Brindle	1400.	...	56.
To Thos. Chadwick	2800.	...	112.
To Mr. John Walmsley	63.	14.	2. 16.
To Mr. Thos. Chadwick	2800.	...	112.
To Mr. G. T.'s Mortgage	6513.	17.	260. 15.
Two India Bonds	5600.	...	168. †
Four Bridge Bonds	11200.	...	448.

† Since in this year the India Bonds paid 6 per cent, this can only be a half-year's interest. The Hotel de Ville bonds seem also to have paid interest only for the half-year.

* In 1759 the regulated price of the pound loaf of white bread, without admixture of bran, was two sous.

bourhood. The granaries and cellars of the monks were well stored; the convent was fully but plainly furnished; the monastic church had pretensions above a simple parish church, both in its fittings, ornaments and sacrificial belongings, but only so far as was warranted by the distinction of its services: altogether, the monastery at Dieulouard had quite enough for its own needs, and just that little to spare, which enabled it to be a good friend to the poor and needy of the country round about. In an official statement made by the municipality to the Government, some time after the French Revolution, when the monks might well have been forgotten, it is pleasant to read an expression of regret for the loss of the English Community. “Si les pauvres ont éprouvé une perte sensible à la dissolution de cette maison religieuse, les honnêtes gens ont à regretter une belle société.”* A valuable and somewhat exceptional testimonial to the goodness and popularity of our English Fathers.

* Archives Départementales. Melnotte p. 119.



THE ENTRANCE TO THE CHURCH.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The French Revolution.

Mr. Carlyle's description of the French Revolution as a destruction of "formulas" is peculiarly inapplicable to the new Canton of Pont-à-Mousson, and the new Département of the Meurthe in which Dieulouard found itself. The inhabitants had no very urgent desire to change or destroy anything. The district had not felt the famines of 1788, 1792 and 1794 very severely. It did not, for the most part, sympathize with what was going on in Paris and elsewhere. It had no very decided philosophies or hatreds, and it had a very deep-rooted love of much that was overturned and destroyed; but if formulas meant taxes it would be very willing to be rid of them; if "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" meant cheap bread and a bit of land for everyone it would be glad to make profit by it. The sparks from the great conflagration in Paris fell here and there, and smouldered and glowed and flickered fitfully; and in the end a flood of fire swept over the district. But the Revolution came as an invasion from without, or as an infectious disease carried by the throngs of conscripts moving ceaselessly to the frontier. The inhabitants had their periods of exaltation and frenzy; but these were brief, with shame and repentance never very far removed from them. Fear had more to do with the general submission to the new state of things than conviction; and the peasantry parted with its cherished formulas, temporarily only, with very open signs of regret.

The first great spoliation of the Church touched St. Lawrence's only slightly. On the 13th February, 1790,

the National Assembly decreed the abolition of monastic vows, the suppression of convents, and the confiscation of ecclesiastical goods as national property. By this the monks at Dieulouard lost the endowment of the chapel of St. Erasmus (sold by auction for 4200 livres), its share in the property of the confraternity of St. Sebastian, and some other small benefices enjoyed by them. But their own property acquired in their own right was not touched, and they were not personally interfered with. As Englishmen and strangers they successfully claimed exemption from the law of disestablishment. They began to fancy themselves secure. They were only on the fringe of the storm and the clouds seemed to them to be blowing over. But it quickly grew dark again. On the 15th of June, two commissaries were sent to make an inventory of all their goods preparatory to confiscation. This action was contested successfully before the Assembly, and Prior Marsh's protest, that (as Louis the fifteenth's Letters of Naturalization admitted) the property of the monastery belonged to the English monks—"n'ayant d'autres fondations que les dots que les religieux qui y font profession y apportent"—was accepted. The monks were permitted to occupy the convent as laymen and to retain all their goods and belongings, except what had been acquired as foundations or by legacy. By this decision the convent was deprived of the little farm of Jaillon. There was a good deal else which might have been seized; but, in the first place, the commissaries could make little out of the old title-deeds—Prior Marsh chuckled over this and quite expected it; the older documents were unreadable to any but specialists—and, in the second place, the French were very glad of the chance of treating the English generously. They had not yet lost the national grace of hospitality.

Their own secular clergy met with no such leniency. The lands and chattels of all benefices and confraternities were confiscated and sold. The priests were each one of

them required to take an oath to be faithful to the nation, the law and the King, and to uphold the new Constitution with all their might. As long as the good old Curé, Messire Josié, lived, the five secular priests connected with Dieulouard stood out against the new state of things. But, after his death—simultaneous with the resignation of the Curé of Scarpone, who refused any oath except that of obedience to his bishop and of fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church, and who was put in prison for his pains—the new Curés and their assistants submitted.* They were not bad men, but they were not of the stuff martyrs are made of. Then began a bad time for the monks. The attitude of neutrality they as Englishmen had hitherto maintained became altogether impossible.

Jean Malgaine, 'the Curé-intrus' as Melnotte calls him, was installed with much ceremony. The constitutional Bishop, Lalande, took part in it, and a great procession was organized to grace it and send it off well. It was thought a matter of national importance that the pious peasants should be brought to look favourably on the new order of things, and that their loyalty should be secured to the new Curé. They were to be won over by the spectacle. To add to the solemnity of the occasion the Benedictines were formally invited to take part in the procession. They refused, declaring that they could not lend their presence and approval to what was a flagrant violation of ecclesiastical law. Taking their absence as a personal insult, the Bishop made covert threats against them in his sermon, and the new Curé became a declared enemy.

After this, with the small section of 'patriots' who supported M. Malgaine, the English monks could do nothing right. The majority of the people refused to have anything to do with the "Curé-intrus" and thronged to the monastic church. Hence jealousies and denunciations.

* Vide the Abbé Melnotte's "Notice Historique" from which many of these particulars are taken.

The Sisters who taught in the schools and who, in imitation of the monks, had declined to take part in the installation procession, and who afterwards frequented the monastic church, were driven out of the place. Then came an order to the English Religious forbidding them to open their church to the public or to ring their bells. They submitted with a protest. What else could they do? The doors of the monastic church were officially closed after the procession on the feast of St. Mark,—a procession attended, as an expression of sympathy, by a great concourse of people. But the monks continued to admit the faithful secretly to their services,—a very charitable and courageous act from a religious point of view, but an unwise and fatal one. It was a defiance of the law, and the law in those days was too new in office to forgive an insult.

Prior Marsh and his Community were quite wise enough to foresee the impending result of the position they had adopted. They had deliberately chosen what they believed to be their duty in preference to what they knew to be their interest. As we know now, they were doomed under any circumstances. But they had made the result a certainty at a time when there seemed to be room for hope. Banishment and confiscation of their goods was the least they might expect. They knew this; but they remained quietly in their cloister. It was a point of honour with them to stand by the ship until the last moment. They had no intention of remaining to sink or swim with it, but they would keep it afloat as long as they could. Meanwhile, they began to prepare for the end. It was at this time that Prior Marsh sold secretly some bits of land, broke up three of the now silent bells (Fr. Watmough's purchases) and turned them into cash, sent books and valuables across the frontier, and generally made clandestine preparations for an enforced departure. It was the attempted sale of some of the best horses of the convent—a difficult business to conduct in the dark—that betrayed his shrewd designs,



The Entrance Hall
of the Palace

and the District, warned at last, took action to protect the so-called national goods. An official letter to the Municipality of Dieulouard, dated May 19th, 1793, and the 2nd of the Republic, was sent to remind the inactive citizens of their duty of surveillance over the convent of St. Lawrence. As a result, a guard of twenty-five men was set for a while round the house. The District then ordered a civic festival and a procession in honour of La Liberté. It was arranged that the cortège should march from the 'Temple of the Supreme Being' (the Parish Church) to the *Place de la Liberté*—formerly (and now again in these days) the *Place des Moines*—in front of the Monastery gates. Young girls, dressed in white, with tri-coloured ribbons in their hair, were to carry a statue of the goddess. Order was given that flowers and branches were to be strewn in front of it, as in a Feast of the Blessed Sacrament. There is no record that the Benedictines were asked to take part in this solemnity. But they were formally invited to join in another procession on the Feast of the Assumption "afin de marquer leur attachement à la nation." With consistent courage the monks took no part in any of the paganized municipal solemnities. Hence louder patriotic grumblings and menaces. The storm was drawing nearer. But the monks were quite aware of it and were watching it closely. Prior Marsh now asked for passports for his Community; they were refused. On this refusal, he decided to smuggle some of the monks out of the country. Fr. Anselm Appleton, disguised as a carter conveying provisions requisitioned for the army of Metz, was the first to step across the frontier. Two others, Daniel Spencer and the porter of the monastery, Louis Faucher, were not so fortunate; they were arrested on the way and imprisoned at Pont-à-Mousson. They were released afterwards under surveillance. But, as Prior Marsh writes, "the Municipality was longing to get us off that our possessions might come into their hands;" they were

willing to stretch a point to help the monks out of France. They therefore gave them passports as young English students,—all except Prior Marsh himself.* With the help of these, ten of the Community, in two batches, made their way to Trèves and together with the last of them, says the French account, a dozen novices; in all probability the pensioners then at College with the monks.

Before the Community left, on the unauthorised withdrawal of the guard of twenty-five men, who had slipped away to help in the vintage, Fr. Prior Marsh not only got in some of his harvest, but managed to turn it into money. He was not the man to let pass such an opportunity, although it deepened the grudge the Republicans had against him and rendered his own chance of escape more precarious. He, the Prior, with Frs. Oswald Talbot and John Dawber, and Fr. Maurus Barret an infirm monk, two lay brothers, William Sharrock and James Johnson, a lay novice, and four French lay oblates, remained at their post. It was not supposed that the lay brethren were endangering their lives by staying in the monastery. There was nothing of the aristocrat about them and no one owed them a grudge. It was believed also that the three priest companions, who had passports, would at the worst be released after a short imprisonment. But no one doubted that Prior Marsh was running the risk of death by the dreaded guillotine. He himself was, perhaps, more sanguine. He was full of fight and thought he could hold out a bit longer. He had persuaded the municipality to promise him and his subjects certificates of hospitality. It is improbable that he expected much from the papers if he got them, but he evidently did not foresee that the end was so near at hand. Just eight days after the departure of the last of the

* One of these passports has been preserved in the Archives Municipales and may be quoted as a specimen. "Passeport délivré à Jacques Burges (James Burgess) né Anglais, délivré et scellé à la maison commune de Dieulouard, le 3 octobre 1793 (vieux style), l'an second de l'unité de la République et le premier de la mort du tyran." Melnotte, p 131.

young men, two of the District members, Thiéry and Lesure, brought an order from the Département to put into execution the decree of the Convention dated the 9th of October (the 18th of the 1st month of the year II, commanding that "all English, Scotch, Irish, or Hanoverians, of either sex, be straightway arrested and put in prison, and that seals be placed on their property." These men on their arrival late in the evening at Dieulouard, "beat the general"* as a summons to all the inhabitants to gather together and join with them in carrying the decree into effect. Prior Marsh had the good fortune to hear it when preparing for bed. A kindly labourer's wife told him the meaning of it, and, acting on a wise impulse, he escaped a few moments before the storm burst upon the doomed monastery.

Prior Marsh has told the story of his adventures on the way to Trèves in full detail. It has been recently published and does not call for repetition. The worthy Prior, after he had swum the Mozelle and could pause to think, was much exercised in mind, as he himself tells us, whether it was braver and wiser to seek safety for himself in flight, or to return to Dieulouard and give himself up to the gendarmes, in the hope that he might be of service to the less experienced brethren he had left behind. He decided to take what he believed to be, and which proved to be, the wisest and bravest course—to make straight for the frontier. He ran very nearly the same risk either way. If he went to prison, he could do no good either for himself or anybody else. He would doubtless be sent to the scaffold, with some others, most likely, to keep him company. He was the only monk the authorities had any reason to be angry with. His imprisoned brethren would attract less notice and excite less animosity if he were not with them. On the other hand escape seemed almost

* Vide Prior Marsh's account in the "Ampleforth Journal," Vols. VI and VII.

impossible. There were troops everywhere, and a jealous eye was kept for refugees. If he were caught near the frontier in the attempt to leave the country, he was liable to be shot on the spot. However, he determined to quit France if he could, and with the help of God he succeeded; thanks, in great measure to the sympathy and friendliness he met with from kindly French peasants and others on the way.

The Garde Nationale, and the unruly mob, which had assembled at the sound of the tocsin in obedience to the proclamation, broke down the outer doors of the monastery and forced their way into it. If Prior Marsh had needed any justification for his flight in the eyes of posterity, the soldiers and rabble have furnished it. It was the Prior whom they sought immediately on their entrance within the gates; it was to his room they went first; for him they ransacked the house from roof to cellar, breaking even into the library over the Sanctuary of the Church. Otherwise there was nothing very ferocious in the doings of the mob. The three English priests and four French lay oblates were taken away to prison without injury or indignities. Some of the National Guard went so far as to furnish the two English lay brothers with peasant dress as a disguise to help them to escape. One of the two, William Sharrock, had hidden himself in a dog kennel until the first rush of the rioters was over. They fled the country as Prior Marsh had done and met with the same kindness and assistance on their way. After the cellars had been broken into, there was the usual broaching of casks, with the usual result. The Abbé Melnotte tells us that some fifty of the "garnement" turned themselves into barrels of wine, and were found lying higgledy-piggledy about the cellars and cloisters and gardens when the morning broke upon the desecrated convent.

One of the English prisoners, Fr. Oswald Talbot, was released after a short imprisonment and deported across



THE SCREEN
of
SIDE ALTAR.

the frontier, where he joined the rest of the Community at Trèves. The French lay-oblates suffered only a day's confinement and were freed on declaring that, since they were now no longer under the control (*sous les auspices*) of their superiors, which up to the present time had always stood in the way of the desire they had to acquire the sacred Rights of Man, &c: they were ready to take and took the following oath: "To die rather than acknowledge a King, dictator or any authority other than the French people and the National Convention; to maintain the Liberty, the Equality, and the Unity of the Republic; and to do their duty at the peril of their life in whatever post may be entrusted to them." The poor fellows had no possible hope of being permitted to join their brethren at Trèves. To emigrate was a capital offence for a Frenchman, and the law was administered without mercy.

The good people of Dieulouard let it be clearly seen that they did not sympathise with the expulsion of the monks. The secret message which warned Prior Marsh in time to make his escape was sent from the Mayor's house. The day after the seizure of the convent, when the seals had been affixed to the doors, or rather to the door of Prior Marsh's room—they seemed to take no thought of anybody or anything else—when the seven commissaries who were to take charge of the place were appointed, one of them, Louis Lucot, refused to have anything to do with the business. He had the courage to do this, knowing, when he did so, that his name would be put on the dreaded list of suspects; as indeed it was. The house of one of the commissaries who did undertake the unpopular task was wrecked by the indignant people. When, by order of the District, the stores from the granaries of the monks were loaded on waggons ready to be carted away, a band of women surrounded the carts, took out the horses from the shafts, upset the sacks in the road, and administered "une

correction maternelle," as Melnotte terms it, to the bailiff in charge. This maternal correction confined the man to his bed for two months.

But, however the peasantry might feel about losing the monks, the expulsion was final and irrevocable. Inventories of the goods were ordered to be made at once in preparation for a sale. The stores and movable goods were valued at 50,000 livres. It is clear that there had been no fire as yet, and that the library had not been destroyed, since a certain Dom Brunet, an ex-Lorraine monk, was employed some time in cataloguing it. The cloister was let at a rent of 1,150 francs and the gardens and home estate for 875 francs. Then, on the 9th of July, the farms and lands were sold—Marivaux fetching only 32,000 francs and the rest of the property similar depreciated prices. Finally, the convent, church, brewery and dependencies were knocked down "*pour la somme dérisoire de 39,950 livres.*" Such was the end of the famous monastery which had existed from the days of Charlemagne. The monumental church built early in the eleventh century, was wrecked by a fire which destroyed the library, situated in the roof chamber over the Sanctuary. Its stones were used to build a wall round a neighbouring property. Only the south block of the monastery remains now, restored, happily, as a convent of the Sisters of the Holy Childhood,* after a century of desecration as a farm house. Some little of the richly-carved furniture of the church and sacristy may still be noted by the curious in the churches and houses of the country side. Grass grows on the site of the church. But the English Benedictines are not forgotten. The villagers preserve in their houses as treasures—sacred relics one might even say—articles that had once belonged to the good English. Prior Marsh's name is held in especial veneration. "Que

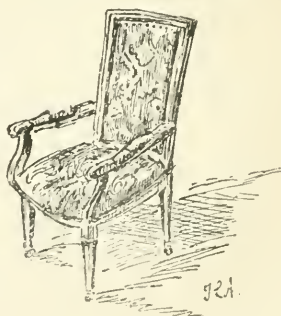
* We have not yet heard the fate of the good sisters under M. Combes campaign against the Religious Orders.

les Bénédictins anglais" writes the Abbé Melnotte, "ont laissé un souvenir ineffaçable, à cause de leur charité."

The departure of the monks was the beginning of a Reign of Terror in Dieulouard. It was a time of sacrilege so revolting that one feels some comfort in the thought that the destruction of the monastic church had saved it from such desecration. After the 5th of November, religious services were forbidden to be held in the parish church. It was converted into a Temple of Reason and adopted as the meeting house of a club. The pulpit was used for the preaching of commentaries on the decrees of the Convention. A Feast of Agriculture was held in it, when a bull, adorned with ribbons, was the centre of a pagan service of hymns and canticles. A ball was held in the choir. All the furniture of the church and sacristy was ordered to be sold by auction. The sacred vessels and reliquaries had already been melted down. But the piety of the inhabitants prevented this first sale from being a satisfactory one to the authorities, and a new order was received commanding that everything, however sacred, was to be put up to auction. It is to the honour of the people of Dieulouard that these orders were executed with some difficulty. Not one of the peasants could be induced to begin the desecration by taking down the bells from the towers—that of St. Lawrence's was still standing and held one bell—and strangers had to be imported to do the work. In spite of all the orders some little was rescued from this sacrilegious spoliation. A special decree had required that all the statues should be taken down from their places and made away with like the rest of the church furniture. But the populace interfered to save the venerated image of Notre Dame des Grottes. To do this they build up the crypt of the Parish Church altogether. The municipality also, before the decree was enforced, hid a cross, the statue of St. Sebastian, and some other

images on the roof of the church and covered them over with planks. Through these pious stratagems it could be stated that the images were not situated "*sur les places et lieux publics.*" The District was not at all deceived and they expressed their discontent. But they took no action; they dared not excite further the hostility of the faithful villagers.

It was a lurid sunset which lit up the last days of the sojourn of the English monks in Lorraine. In the red glare all things seemed changed. There was a look as of anger on the old friendly faces, a light as of passion in the old kindly eyes, a stain as of blood on the white walls of the peaceful cottages. Friends mistook each other for enemies and wondered at the sullenness of their own hearts. But the horror of that time soon passed away. The fire-tinged clouds were lost in the gloom of the darkness that followed, and then, in the white light of a new day, people saw as in the peaceful days of old. They could think once more with kindness of the stranger who had dwelt within their gates, who had sorrowed with them and laughed with them and shared their toil and burthens, who had quarrelled with them, perhaps, as friends quarrel, but whose love was a sure comfort to them in the hour of their trouble. And they who had met with such friendliness in their long exile have little to forget and much to remember; they still think with affection of their old home among the good-hearted folk of Dieulouard,—of the tireless welcome and the generous hospitality which had lasted unchanged through nearly two hundred years.



PRIOR MARSH'S CHAIR.



CHAPTER XXIV.

Back to England.—Acton Burnell.

CATHOLICISM in England received a great impulse through the French Revolution. It was just time, not a moment too soon or too late, for the English Communities of monks and nuns, and the Colleges for the education of English Catholics, to return to their own country—in the way they actually did come. England was just beginning to be carelessly tolerant of Catholics. A Relief Act had been passed which repealed many of the penalties and restrictions on Catholic worship, which permitted Catholic schools, and exempted Catholics from the Oath of Supremacy and the declaration against Transubstantiation. The law no longer treated them as aliens or criminals. But there still remained something of the hole and corner about the numerous Catholic churches built then and at the beginning of the new century. Many of them were altogether indistinguishable from the dwelling-houses which adjoined them. Sometimes they were built at the back of houses which hid them from the public view. There was nothing pretentious or truly ecclesiastical about the best of them.

A meeting-house in the slums of a great city ; a barn-like room of brick used on week days as a village school ; a stone hall, distinguishable from any other only by the cross on its gable ; a stable-like addition to the squire's outbuildings ; an upper-chamber in a priest's dwelling ; these were the Houses of God where our grandfathers worshipped in their youth ; and they, in many instances, had obscure entrances by which the devout could step in casually, without attracting the attention of their neighbours. Nevertheless, the ban which had made the Catholic a legal outcast was removed in part, so that the Communities of men and women from France and the Low Countries were able to slip back across the channel without fear of imprisonment or contumely,—as private individuals seeking shelter from persecution abroad.

How it would have been if, in time of peace, with pomp and circumstance, with money in their hands from the sale of their lands and houses, they had crossed over the sea and commenced to rear up colleges and convents and monasteries, and to jostle the Established Church on terms of equality, it is not difficult to imagine. The disturbance excited by the erection of the Catholic Hierarchy many years later, after the Emancipation Act had passed, when Catholics were admitted into Parliament and their leaders had a right to lift up their voices and demand a hearing, gives us reason to believe that such a Roman invasion—to use the phrase by which the establishment of the Hierarchy was known—would have been resisted with a jealous anger and a frenzy of passion, which might have paralleled the revolutionary excesses in France. But the nuns and monks were most of them ruined, and all of them homeless ; and an Englishman never strikes at a man when he is down. The outcast and friendless can always find shelter in our hospitable country. The waifs and strays who had fled from the guillotine or had escaped from French prisons, even the hated Romish priests, were admitted into

the country, not with generosity and friendliness, but without any open expression of ill-will.

In the case of the the homeless Community of St. Lawrence's, Dr. Marsh, the Prior, came over to England by himself, first, in order to look about and see what was best to be done. He had left some of his people in prison at Pont-à-Mousson and the rest safe at Trèves. Both parties were provided for as far as he could arrange it. He managed—it was a kindly and wise forethought—to transmit a sum of money to a certain Madame Warot at Pont-à-Mousson, who, by the use of it, secretly and at great risk to herself, kept the prisoners from perishing with hunger and cold; the rest of the brethren at Trèves were comfortable enough and only awaited the signal to follow him over the sea. Arrived in England, he went at once to meet the Vice-President,* Fr. Gregory Cowley (a Laurentian), and Bishop Sharrock (a Gregorian), and found that they had already been making provision for the coming of the brethren who had escaped from the Revolution in France. They had been to see Sir Edward Smythe, an old pupil of St. Gregory's in Douai, who had also a connexion with St. Lawrence's through the family burse established at Dieulouard by the then Sir Edward Smythe in 1714. He was devoted to the Benedictines and anxious to help them in any way he could. Knowing this, they had been bold enough to make an application to him, asking that one of his residences might be lent to the English monks as a temporary home. He graciously assented to it. He was then living at Wooten Wawen with his lady's father, and Acton Burnell Hall was vacant. Dr. Marsh met the squire and his father-in-law at Acton Burnell on November 21st, 1793, and beds were at once got ready for the escaped monks,—those of Dieulouard from Trèves and those of St. Gregory's from Tournai. As soon

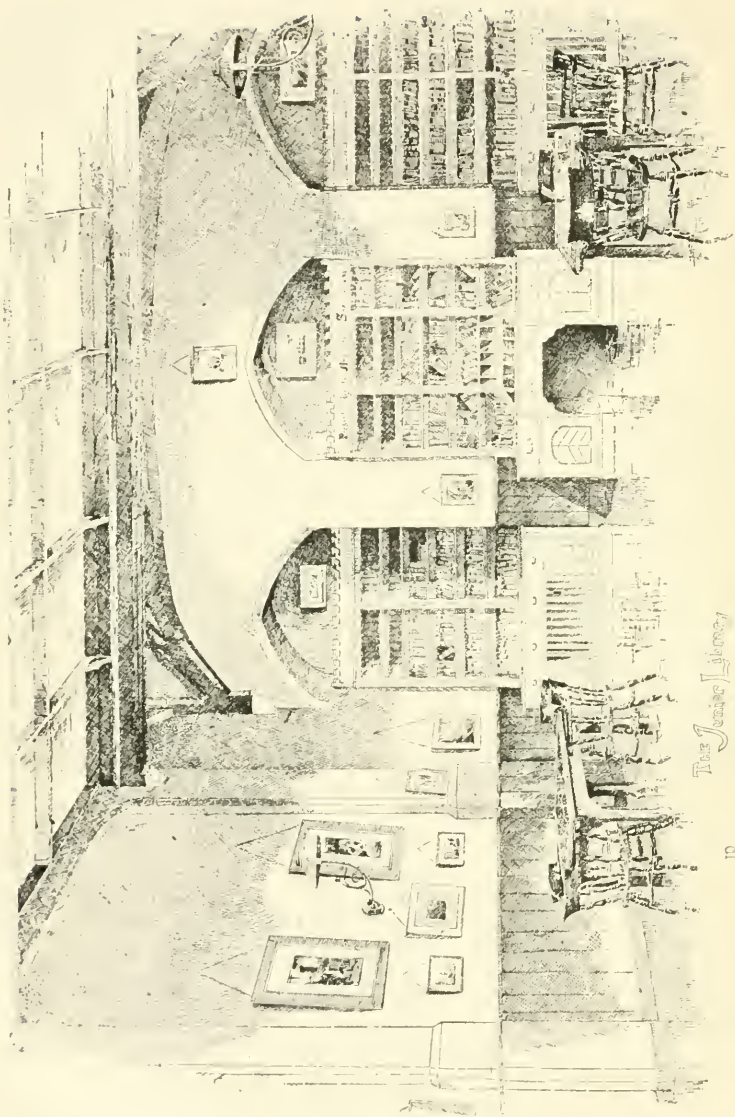
* The President Fr. Augustine Walker was a prisoner at Compiègne, where he died in the following year.

as things were ready, the brethren were brought over to England, and since Fr. Jerome Sharrock, Prior of St. Gregory's, was in prison at Dourlens, Dr. Marsh and the Laurentian Community were put in possession of the house, with the proviso that the Gregorian monks were to have a full right to live with them on payment of £25 each a year, as the cost of their board. Religious life was straightway commenced with a community of twelve.* In the following year, the General Chapter, which ought to have been held in 1793, was opened in London on the 17th of July. By its decree the establishment of St. Lawrence's at Acton Burnell was confirmed, and the Community was permitted to constitute itself the Monastery of Dieulouard, "*permissi sunt Monasterium Dei Custodiense vere constituere.*" † Nothing could be determined then concerning the monasteries of St. Gregory and St. Edmund, whose Priors were in prison in France. It was arranged that the two Priors should be continued in their office, but it was decreed that, within three months after they and their Communities found themselves once more united (in their old home or elsewhere), they were to proceed at once to a house-election. Dr. Marsh was formally elected and installed Prior of St. Lawrence's at Acton Burnell.

Let it be clearly understood that neither Sir Edward Smythe, nor the Chapter, nor Dr. Marsh looked upon the Laurentian House at Acton Burnell as a permanent settlement. There was no gift or lease of the house to the Benedictines at all, nor any promise of it, nor perhaps any possibility of it. This has been misunderstood since, and was misunderstood by some at the time. Dr. Marsh had some ideas yet awhile of going back to France. There was still question of the restoration of St. Gregory's at Douai even after the

* V. Dr. Marsh's Recollections or Diary, as it has been called. M. S. Ampleforth Library.

† This was a permission to take postulants and profess novices in the usual manner.



The Junior Library

1914

purchase of the house and land at Downside. It was not at all certain that the English nation would permit the establishment of a monastery, or anything in the shape of one, at Acton Burnell or anywhere else. Sir Edward Smythe's benevolence, whatever may have been his original intention or wish, had actually taken the shape of giving to all homeless English Benedictines, indiscriminately, a shelter in the storm. There were no St. Edmund's monks to provide for. The predominance of St. Lawrence's for the moment was owing to the fact that St. Lawrence's meant a Prior and his Community, whilst St. Gregory's consisted of three young monks and, later, a novice. These three young men were very naturally distressed that St. Gregory's should be nowhere, and its monks subject to the Prior of another house. Sir Edward Smythe, as an old Gregorian, sympathized with them. In consequence, things were not pleasant at Acton Burnell, even before the release of Fr. Sharrock and his monks from prison. But when through the agency of Dr. Stapleton, President of St. Omer, the Prior and his monks were freed, and in March 1795 came over to England and proceeded to Acton Burnell, the unpleasantness became acute.

The existence of two Communities, each with its own Prior, resident under the same roof, was essentially an incompatibility. Such incompatibility was exaggerated rather than lessened by the fact that one of them, St. Lawrence's, was *de facto* in possession, and the other, St. Gregory's, in the dependent position of a boarder. Sir Edward Smythe wished the Gregorians to stay, but he could not in decency ask Fr. Marsh and the Laurentians to go elsewhere. He had invited them and consented to the existing arrangement. What was to be done? Provincial Warmoll, a Gregorian, came forward (March 31st) with a plan of union between the three houses, St. Gregory's, St. Lawrence's and St. Edmund's. Happily, as we recognize now, circumstances made such a union an impossibility.

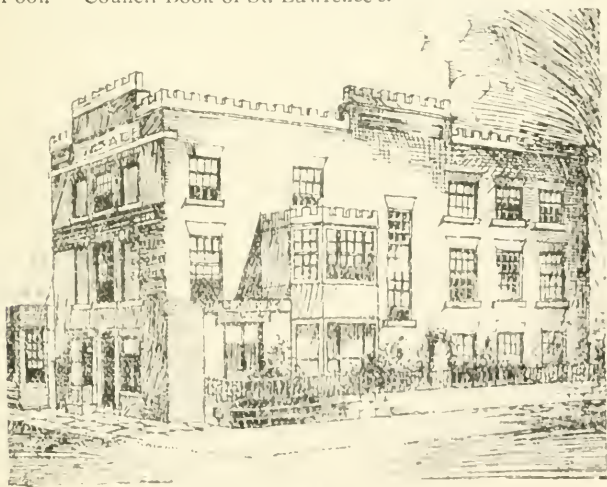
There was no other possible solution of the difficulty except that one or other of the two Communities must pack up and go. Which was to do this and which to remain, Sir Edward Smythe practically decided by the offer of a more permanent settlement and the expenditure of money in the building of a chapel, if his old Alma Mater, St. Gregory's, was left in sole possession of Acton Burnell. It was not possible for Dr. Marsh and the Superiors of the English Benedictines to stand in the way of so generous an offer. On April 2nd, therefore, just a month after the Prior and Community of St. Gregory's had taken ship at Calais, at a meeting called by President Cowley at Vernon Hall, attended by Bishop Sharrock, Dr. Brewer (Definitor of the Regimen), Fr. Michael Lacon (Provincial of York) and the two Priors, it was decided that St. Gregory's should remain at Acton Burnell and that St. Lawrence's should be translated to Brindle in Lancashire.

So ended a short fraternal misunderstanding. As is usual in such cases, it was only among the younger members of the Communities that the affair was looked upon as anything more than a knot which a little forbearance and management would easily unravel. It was difficult to know at first what to do; but there was no real contention among the Superiors of the Congregation. Priors Sharrock and Marsh referred to the controversy afterwards in their letters as though they had had no part in it. But the Brindle arrangement was unfortunate. Fr. Lawrence Hadley, who was incumbent there, and had been so for nearly thirty years, refused Prior Marsh admittance into the priest's house. He had, in proper obedience, consented to the arrangement of his Superiors, but had changed or been persuaded to change his mind. Moreover, on the day when Brindle was to be handed over, a crowd of his parishoners gathered about the Presbytery to defend him. Dr. Marsh and his companion, Fr. Bede Burgess, were received with insults and

threats of violence. The doors were barred against them and their confrère within refused to admit them, or even to quell the tumult and protect them. The two pioneers were compelled to withdraw and trudge ten miles to the house of Fr. Burgess' father, where they found shelter for the night. For the sake of peace President Cowley decided that the scheme should be abandoned, and Prior Marsh and his Community had all England before them wherein to choose a resting place, and a home if they could find one. This was not an easy task. The Laurentians perforce remained at Acton Burnell for a while longer.

It was not until September of the year, when a house at Birkenhead, the Tranmere Hotel, near the Berket Pool* was placed at their service by a Mr. Chamberlain, that they found themselves settled in a home of their own. But they remained in it only a few months—it was sickness seemingly which caused them to leave; Dr. Marsh's nephew, Bennet Marsh, died there—and in 1796 they recommenced their wanderings.

*“In Castello Domini Chamberlain prope Lacum vulgo nuncupatum Berket-Pool.” Council Book of St. Lawrence's.



THE TRANMERE HOTEL.

CHAPTER XXV.

On the Road.

IN this period of the history of St. Lawrence's, Richard Marsh is such a prominent figure that he calls for a direct personal estimate. He was not exactly a great man, though he did a great work. Some of this work we have seen, and there is more yet to come. He was a busy man during most of his life, restlessly busy; yet, busy as he was, he was always ready to take up some fresh burthen. He had the spirit of an adventurer. It was this which made him so prominent in this most unsettled period of Benedictine history. There was a time when he seemed to have the whole business of the Congregation upon his shoulders. Until he made a mistake—a serious pecuniary loss—no one in his own day, and few at any time, held so securely the confidence of his brethren. He was both Provincial of York and Prior of Ampleforth at one time; both President and Prior of St. Edmund's at another. It need hardly be said that he often attempted more than he could do. And yet, barring his mistake, which in his own days cost him his reputation and cancelled the memory of much of his great service, there were few things he failed to carry through with a measure of success. He seems to have had no very exceptional gifts, except courage and perseverance. He was a ready man, but not notably brilliant; a scholar and a theologian, but not exactly learned; fertile in expedients, but rather hap-hazard in his choice of them; wise, but somewhat too self-reliant; a man who had a solution for every difficulty, but not always the perfect one. When things were at their worst he was invariably at his best;

he was a rough-weather seaman. As a Superior he is said to have been kind, patient and pleasant, but it is also said of him that he made a confidant of no one. It was this habit of secrecy which, when he was successful, inspired such complete trust, and which, in the hour of his misfortune, so completely destroyed it.

The portrait which has come down to us (the original of it is at Ampleforth) is an excellent one. It is the picture of an old man, but of one who could have been very little different in his prime. A lean face, with a long, straight, thin nose and narrow chin; small eyes set full in their



place; a mouth habitually compressed and a well-shaped restless hand: the single impression it leaves is that of persistency. One knows at once that such a man will never acknowledge defeat, and that beneath an appearance of quiet self-reliance there is an activity which will never tire. It is perhaps rather the face of an old-fashioned attorney than a priest—an attorney with a keen eye to business.

From the Tranmere Hotel, Dr. Marsh led his remnant—the Community was gradually shrinking in numbers—to a house near Prescot, about half-way between Liverpool and Warrington. Here St. Lawrence's advertised for

scholars. The notice ran: "College of Scholes, near Prescott, Lancashire. The Rev. R. Marsh and assistants lately from the College of Dieulouard in Lorraine." The place was opened for students in the Midsummer of 1796. The pension was the very humble one of 20 guineas a year. But the establishment was too near a rival of another Dieulouard College,—that of Vernon Hall, Liverpool. It is not probable that it promised success. The College of Scholes survived only twelve months, and then it merged itself in the older establishment at Mount Vernon.

Vernon Hall College was President Cowley's private venture. He had been Prior of Dieulouard so far back as 1765, and after an eight years' reign had been Prior of St. Edmund's at Paris for a further quadriennium. In 1789, he went on the English Mission, and had the enterprise to found, out of his own resources, a College for the education of gentlemen. He rented from a Mr. Plumbe a square, roomy, uninteresting house, on a low hill outside Liverpool—at that time a small seaport, rapidly growing in importance mainly through the slave trade. It was just a merchant's suburban residence, in a well-timbered agricultural locality. Fr. Cowley taught in the College himself and he had assistance from local professors. An émigré priest the Rev. J. B. A. Gérardot of Blêmes, Paris, taught French. The College advertisement is headed "Lorain, Dieulouard; English Benedictine monks," though at the time Fr. Cowley himself was the only monk who had to do with it. The pension was 20 guineas and extras, with a guinea entrance fee, but unpretentious as this may seem, many sons of the Catholic gentry and nobility were educated there.

In 1794, Fr. Gregory Cowley was elected President of the English Benedictine Congregation. He then found the duties of his office in the way of the successful management of his College. But he did not give it up. Neither



did he raise objections to Dr. Marsh's rival establishments at Birkenhead and Prescot. He struggled on until—to use Marsh's expression—he found things “not to go on as he wished.” His Presidentship was taking more and more of his time. It was necessary for him to make an official visit to Lammispring Abbey, and this would keep him for some length of time out of England. He therefore proposed that the Prescot and Liverpool establishments should be combined. Accordingly, in 1797, Dr. Marsh, and the Laurentians with him, removed to Mount Vernon and took possession of President Cowley's little College.

The advantages of this union of forces seem to us in these days so obvious that we are bound to suppose there were disadvantages equally obvious in those days to President Cowley and Dr. Marsh. Why should not the Laurentians have gone straight to Vernon Hall from Acton Burnell? Why the abortive, useless, and essentially temporary settlements at Birkenhead and Prescot? We may not suppose any selfishness on the part of President Cowley—such a supposition is wholly inconsistent with his character and acts. The truth is that Vernon Hall could at its best only be a makeshift. It could never be a revival of St. Lawrence's monastery, and to give it up to the monks would benefit them only for a short while, and spoil, perhaps, a successful enterprise. Fr. Cowley and his College could at any moment be sent adrift at short notice. He had neither a lease of the place, nor an option to purchase it. It was for this reason Brindle had been fixed upon by the Vernon Hall Council,—because it was a freehold. In so far it was preferable even to Acton Burnell. It needs no knowledge of canon law to know that there could be no final re-erection of St. Lawrence's, except on land the monks could call their own. Vernon Hall was not really any better suited to Dr. Marsh's purpose than the places already tried. The new arrangement was no less temporary than the former ones. This was

very quickly made evident. Under the joint management of Cowley and Marsh there was got together a nice school "of the most respectable by number and family connections." The pension had been raised to 26 guineas and extras. President Cowley died in 1799, but the school flourished without him. In 1801, however, Marsh got notice from Mr. Plumbe, the proprietor, to quit or have his rent raised. Hearing of a better house at a lower rent at Parbold, Dr. Marsh accepted the notice. He did not leave quite at once, more is the pity, for he was forcibly driven away in 1802 by a fierce outbreak of scarlet fever.

Dr. Marsh tells us that the fever was prevalent in most boarding schools in the country, but this did not prevent a considerable injury to the little Laurentian College. To quote the Prior's account: "it (the scarlet fever) began by Wm. Clifton, a son of Mr. Clifton of Lytham, who recovered. The next was George Titchebourne, son of Sir Henry Titchebourne, who died. The present Earl of Shrewsbury was between life and death a considerable time but did get over it, tho' his elder brother Charles, who took it after him, died. We then thought it necessary to send all the scholars away for a while and in the meantime removed to Parbold."*

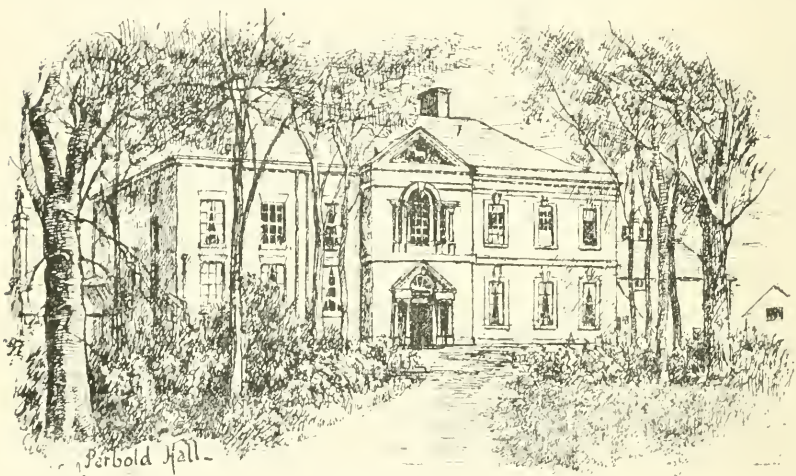
Before this misfortune—and this shows most clearly the difficulties of the Laurentians at this period—there was a proposition made at Chapter (1798), and seriously considered, of removing St. Lawrence's to some English colony abroad. The Fathers of the Chapter doubted if monasteries would be permitted in England. Moreover, there was no present possibility or future promise that the Community would be able to propagate itself. A little college was something, but it was not a monastery. So far, anything in the shape of a noviciate or true community life had been impossible. President Cowley wrote in 1799: "Under

the prudent management of Mr. Sharrock, I think we may conceive hopes that they (the Gregorians) will be able to perpetuate themselves ; St. Lawrence's is free from every engagement, and I believe in its present state has little prospect of a succession of members to continue the community."* Vernon Hall was flourishing when this was written, and it shows how unsatisfactory the situation was from a monastic point of view, and how clearly this was realised by the Laurentians themselves. Perhaps it was an offer, made by the Bishop of Baltimore in 1794, of a settlement at Pittsburg in Pensylvania, that suggested colonization to the Capitular Fathers. But it is certain they took up the idea, though they rejected the American offer, and it was resolved that the Regimen should be empowered to ascertain the practicability of a convent in Portugal, or in some other Catholic country, and more particularly to consider the proposition of a Mr. Olivera, a merchant resident in London, to settle in the island of Madeira. Dr. Marsh had so little faith in the future of St. Lawrence's at Vernon Hall or elsewhere that he seems to have jumped at the suggestion. With his characteristic readiness to do anything or attempt anything unusual, he volunteered to go himself at once to the island and make preliminary enquiries—arrangements also, if desirable. He was not, however, commissioned to do this, and no one was sent in his place.

Parbold Hall, to which St. Lawrence's removed, is a large, handsome residence, on a hill which looks over the flat country between Bootle and the mouth of the Ribble. It is a beautiful and healthy situation—ideal one might even say. It would be difficult to find a place more favourable to the establishment of an English Benedictine College. The monks of St. Lawrence's at Dieulouard had been largely recruited from the neighbourhood. There was no place where they were more at home. There were

* Allanson, Vol. II. p. 374, note.

brethren on the mission at Liverpool, Ormskirk, Crosby, and Standish, and, within a year or two, further Benedictine residences at Netherton, Croston and Wrightington. There were well-to-do Catholic farmers and gentry sprinkled consistently over the whole country around them. There were large towns with large Catholic congregations, such as Liverpool, Warrington, and Preston to draw pupils from. If St. Lawrence's was destined to flourish anywhere, here it might well have planted itself firmly and finally. But to take root it was necessary to be first



possessed of the ground. This was the difficulty. Parbold Hall no more belonged to the monks than Vernon Hall, or Scholes, or the Tranmere Hotel had done. It was a roof to shelter under for awhile—a place to lay one's head, but not where one could burrow or build a nest for oneself. The days of wandering were not yet over. St. Lawrence's was still on the road.

Dr. Marsh at this period found an outlet for his restless energy in a visit to his old home, Dieulouard. Napoleon was at peace with England, and there was no risk in the

journey. Whether Marsh had any thought then of re-building the ruined monastery, it is impossible to say. But he believed the visit might prove profitable, and it was certainly called for. France had made its Concordat with the Holy See. There was the possibility that something might be recovered from the wreck of the property the monks had been forced to abandon. But, most urgently, there was a demand for instant inquiry concerning the Laurentians who had been left in prison.

Fr. John Dawber was discovered in comfortable quarters. A certain Vicomte de Coudre (?)—the name is indistinct in Dr. Marsh's account—had taken him into his household as chaplain. But he and his companions had had a rough time of it in confinement. No sort of consideration or kindness was shown them; they were treated as criminals; but for Madame Warot and the money Marsh had entrusted to her they would have died of starvation. Fr. James Johnson did die shortly after his release from an eighteen months' imprisonment. Fr. Maurus Barret was found to have succumbed in prison. But, after the fall of Robespierre, one after another of the English priests in French prisons, Frs. Johnson and Dawber among the rest, had been freed, to save the Republic the cost, as Marsh says, "of furnishing them with the luxury of feasting on bread and water whilst that nation was enjoying their property."

Not much was done in the way of recovery of goods, or compensation for the loss of them, on this visit. In conjunction with Fr. Parker, Prior of St. Edmund's, of Mr. Daniel and Mr. Smith (afterwards Bishop Smith), the late President and Procurator of the Secular College at Douai, Marsh made a commencement of proceedings. Then he was called away to the Chapter in London. He had done all that was immediately possible. And what chiefly interested him in this return to France was to discover how narrowly he had escaped losing his head. Doin Raguel,
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his Benedictine friend, who so kindly accompanied him part of his way to the frontier,* informed him that, just after the two of them had left the house at Pagny, at about six in the morning, the Municipal officer had called to withdraw Dom Raguel's passport, and would no doubt have arrested the runaway Prior if he had found him in the house. The man to whom Marsh had sold the church bells had been imprisoned on the charge of *lèse-nation*, and only escaped with his life on the plea that he knew nothing about them—a not very credible plea since the bells had been broken up and some fragments of them found on his premises. Dom Baudot, Procurator of St. Mansuy at Toul, had been tried and condemned for the very thing Marsh had done—the making away secretly of goods claimed by the Republic. Monsieur Ruelle, Procurator of St. Vaast at Arras, had been guillotined for the same offence. There were some of his French friends who believed that the Bill of Amnesty and the Treaty with England 'did not secure the English monk even then from the danger of arrest, although under the strong rule of the First Consul, law and order had been restored in France.

V. Marsh's Escape from Dieulouard, Ampleforth Journal, Vol. VI., p. 307.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A New President and a New Scheme.

PRESIDENT COWLEY, dying in office, was succeeded by Fr. Bede Brewer,* the first Definitor of the Regimen. His right of succession was open to question. Fr. Sharrock, the second-elect President, had declined the promotion. Hence the difficulty. The Constitutions of the Body made no provision for such a proceeding. There was no method of Presidential election out of Chapter. One must admit that Dr. Brewer's right to the title of President was disputable, but at least he had a better claim to it than anybody else. However, at the Chapter of 1798, he was properly elected and installed in his Office.

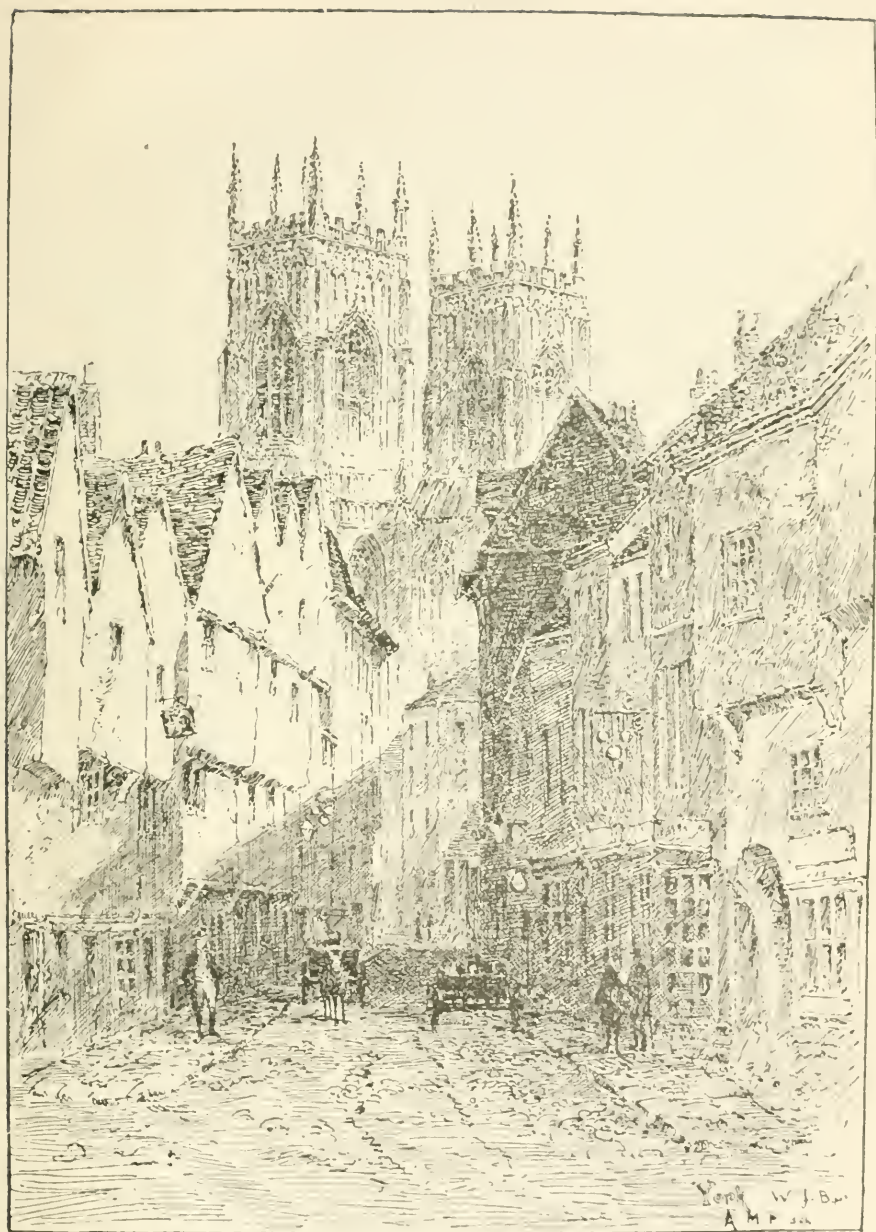
A President General's authority in the English Benedictine Congregation has always been strictly limited. He was at no period an autocrat, nor even, in any accurate sense, a ruler. It could not be asserted that the Priors and Provincials governed the body as his delegates or under his direction. They did not derive their authority from him but from the General Chapter; they did not need to accept or admit his advice or interference except at a Visitation. He was neither more nor less than the Speaker of the General Chapter at its meetings, and its representative during the quadriennium,—a delegate with strictly limited powers, who made the canonical Visitation of the monasteries, transferred subjects from Prior to Provincial, from the mission to the monastery,

* He was of Ribbleson Hall, Preston, and was born in the year 1742. He took his Doctor's degree, by public thesis, at the Sorbonne.

was the interpreter of the meaning of the Constitutions when Chapter was not there to explain them, and a first Court of Appeal in cases of dispute. He presided over a council of three called the Regimen,—a Council which could sit in judgment upon himself. Over and over again in the history of the Order, not the general public only, but ecclesiastical authorities, bishops, and even the Holy See, have wondered at the singular inability of the English Benedictine President General to institute a policy or to carry out a design; at his deference to the advice or submission to the wishes of his own subjects; at his slowness in making up his mind what to do and his want of decision in doing it. But this was not the result of incompetency, nor amiability, nor humility; it was simply the little-understood limitations of his authority.

As a necessary consequence of this, the President General, commonly, was quite contented, between Chapters, to provide for present needs either by temporary expedient or by compromise. It was best for him to do so; not only less trouble to himself and less disturbing to others, but likely to save him from many a hasty blunder or rash impulse. Also, generally speaking, the successful and popular President was the one who was most distrustful of his own judgment and least insistent on his own authority. Just as nature is the best physician, and the doctor's best policy is to suppress his own personality and make himself as far as possible nature's assistant, so the English Benedictine Congregation could, generally, with some direction and assistance—nursing perhaps in time of weakness—be safely trusted to right, direct, save or advance itself by its own healthy instincts, under the helpful Providence of God.

President Cowley had been a normal President, as one might say; a man of ability and some enterprise, but somewhat yielding under pressure; going out of his way to turn an obstacle rather than meet it squarely face to



face; and above all a man who was so mistrustful of his powers as President, that he shrank from putting them to the test. Dr. Brewer, his successor, was quite as able a man, more learned, and with quite as much enterprise. But in every other respect he was the exact opposite of his predecessor—a man naturally stubborn, bold and decided, who under pressure of circumstances would assuredly assert himself strongly, and at need strain his authority to the breaking point. He was not an ideal President under quiet circumstances; but, in the confusion of things which followed after the French Revolution, he was the man who was wanted. Estimating him now by the results of his administration then and since, he was the wisest, strongest, most admired, most admirable of the many excellent Superiors of the English Congregation.

At the outset he had one exceedingly unpleasant and difficult task, and a second which was no less difficult if more to his inclination. The one was the reduction of the aged Abbot of Lammspring to submission, and the other the defence of Fr. Cuthbert Wilks, his confrère and friend. Both are long stories, interesting enough also, but the details of them would hardly be justified in a history of St. Lawrence's. Nevertheless, it is necessary to do more than merely mention them, both to show what sort of a man Dr. Brewer was and to explain his popularity with his brethren.

The state of affairs at Lammspring was this. The Abbot, Maurus Heatley, was an old man who had grown more autocratic with age and more independent with long freedom from interference. He was a good man—that may be taken for granted; devout, not unamiable, and a successful though exacting administrator. He was a prince in his own house, with princely jurisdiction over his domains. The exercise of absolute authority during a long life had led him to resent the supreme jurisdiction of the English General Chapter, and to question the right of the English President to visit Lammspring as Superior General. It

is very natural that he should have been unable to see why he should be less of a Prince and less of an Abbot than his friends the German Abbots of St. Michael and St. Godehard at Hildesheim. To make things worse he had taken a crutch to himself in his old age in the person of an able but very self-willed confidant, Fr. Dionysius Allerton. This made trouble in the Community, and further trouble had been made and was made by the solitary confinement of one of the monks, Fr. Maurus Chaplin, under the Abbot's order. The prisoner was more, perhaps, to be blamed than pitied, for he was violent, intemperate and disobedient; but he had been deranged in his mind at one period of his life and was never altogether responsible for his ways. It should be said that the Abbot had the concurrence of the Prince Bishop of Hildesheim in keeping the poor monk in confinement. But his brethren in England were loud in condemnation of the act, and when the Abbot continued the imprisonment beyond the period of time permitted by Constitutional law, they called upon the President General to use his authority and put an end to what they held to be a scandal.

This was no easy task. President Cowley had made a Visitation of Lammspring and had come away without doing anything. But Dr. Brewer was not a man to shrink from difficulty. At a first Visitation, he made a lengthened stay at the Abbey in order to make his authority the better felt, and he succeeded in bringing back with him, and settling in comfort for the rest of his days, the monk who had been thirteen years in confinement. This, however, was not enough. After the President's departure, the Abbot continued to assert his independence of Constitutions, Chapter and President. But, as this was only done by fixing up papers and declarations in the chapter-house, it was difficult for the President to take action in the matter. Dr. Brewer forced the Abbot himself to give him

the opportunity he needed. He sent word that he proposed to summon Fr. Dionysius Allerton the Abbot's adviser to the English Mission, and asked what reasons the Abbot had to show against it. When he had received the Abbot's objections, he declared them to be of no weight; then he straightway ordered Fr. Allerton, under obedience, to be sent to England within ten days of the receipt of his letter. The Abbot put himself in the wrong by disobeying this command, and the story ends with an extraordinary Visitation, during which, in spite of the interference of the Prince Elector and the German Abbots, and a menace of State action in Heatley's favour, the President temporarily relieved the Abbot of his office and left Fr. Placid Harsnep Superior in his place.

The second case, that of Fr. Cuthbert Wilks, belongs rather to the history of Catholic Emancipation than to Benedictine annals. It is sufficient to say of it that, rightly or wrongly, Fr. Wilks was made the scapegoat in a controversy between the Catholic Committee, which had been formed to procure from Parliament the amelioration of the position of English Catholics, and some of the Vicars Apostolic. Dr. Brewer had no part in the controversy; but as the attack on a subject of his had been prolonged for many years and savoured, to say the least of it, of personal persecution, he defended Fr. Wilks to the full extent of his power. He made powerful enemies and risked his own reputation in doing it. First, he gave judgment, on good grounds, against the Provincial of the South Province who had attempted to remove Fr. Wilks from the mission without proper authority. The Provincial appealed to the Regimen; Dr. Brewer cleverly made any action of the Regimen impossible, and this without laying himself open to the charge of having clearly exceeded his Constitutional powers. His procedure was ingenious. He himself had been one of the Definitors of the Regimen before he succeeded to the office of President; by his

promotion, therefore, the Council of three was imperfect. He succeeded in keeping it imperfect. He maintained that Fr. Cuthbert Wilks, who was on his trial, had, as Cathedral Prior of Durham, the first and only right to the vacant seat. This the other two members of the Regimen disputed; they would have done more wisely to have at once accepted the ruling and asked for a deputy, since Fr. Wilks could not sit in judgment on his own case. Of course they soon saw through the ruse, and Dr. Brewer had to consent to the appointment of a substitute. This might seem and did seem to be an acceptance of defeat. But the President had a further card to play. He now insisted that the right and only substitute was Fr. Augustine Kellet, the oldest Cathedral Prior. Fr. Kellet was shut up in Paris and altogether out of reach. France and England were then at war, and there was no chance of his being able to cross the channel to assist at a meeting of the Regimen, or even for the Regimen to have communication with him in writing. The President had brought about a deadlock. In the end Fr. Wilks retired to Belgium; but as long as possible and with every means in his power Dr. Brewer had skilfully and strongly befriended him.

This was the man who was the founder of Ampleforth Abbey. At the moment when he took the future of St. Lawrence's into his hands, he stood for his brethren, generally, and especially in the North of England where he lived, as the wise, strong, big-hearted man, who held their faith and obedience, and could always be depended upon in the hour of need. In the case of St. Lawrence's, he had never been satisfied with the hand to mouth policy of Dr. Marsh, then at Parbold Hall. The little Lancashire College was reasonably successful in a small way, but he saw clearly it was not and never would be a monastery. Only one novice had taken the habit for St. Lawrence's since the departure from Acton Burnell, and he had

chosen, under the circumstances, to be professed for St. Gregory's; he died soon after. Something had to be decided and executed at once. Of course, it ought to have been easy enough for Drs. Brewer and Marsh to purchase a house and property. But, one way or another, the money which the Prior had been able to bring over from Lorraine, had been reduced, during the years St. Lawrence's had been on the road, to a sum which produced only about £200 a year. Dr. Brewer did not feel justified in touching it. Neither would nor could he alienate to the service of St. Lawrence's any Benedictine or missionary property which did not strictly belong to it or its members. It was then that he turned his eyes to Ampleforth Lodge, a good house, standing on freehold land, belonging to Fr. Anselm Bolton, a Laurentian priest, who had grown old on the English mission and was living, practically, in retirement.



*Gilling Castle 1896
J. A. del.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

Ampleforth Lodge.

THE Vale of Mowbray may be best described as a detached fragment of the great Vale of York. It lies to the north of the old Roman Capital, and is separated from the flat in which the city stands by a long low hill running east and west, abrupt on its north side and to the south losing itself gently and irregularly, as wolds, hillocks and hummocks, in the plain. From the higher points of the Hambleton hills which bound the vale to the north, one can look over this lesser southern hill and see the Minster towers, standing solitary, as it seems, on the horizon—the city of York itself wholly indistinguishable because of the eighteen miles between it and the spectator. Roughly speaking, Mowbray Vale is a long narrow stretch of grass land about a mile and a quarter in breadth and some thirteen miles in length—the long length broken into three not very distinct portions by rising ground. In the days of Norman William and the Domesday book, it was a part of the great forest of Galtres—a forest mostly consisting of moor-topped hills ringed with tree-covered slopes, holding in their midst large, hollow glades of rich

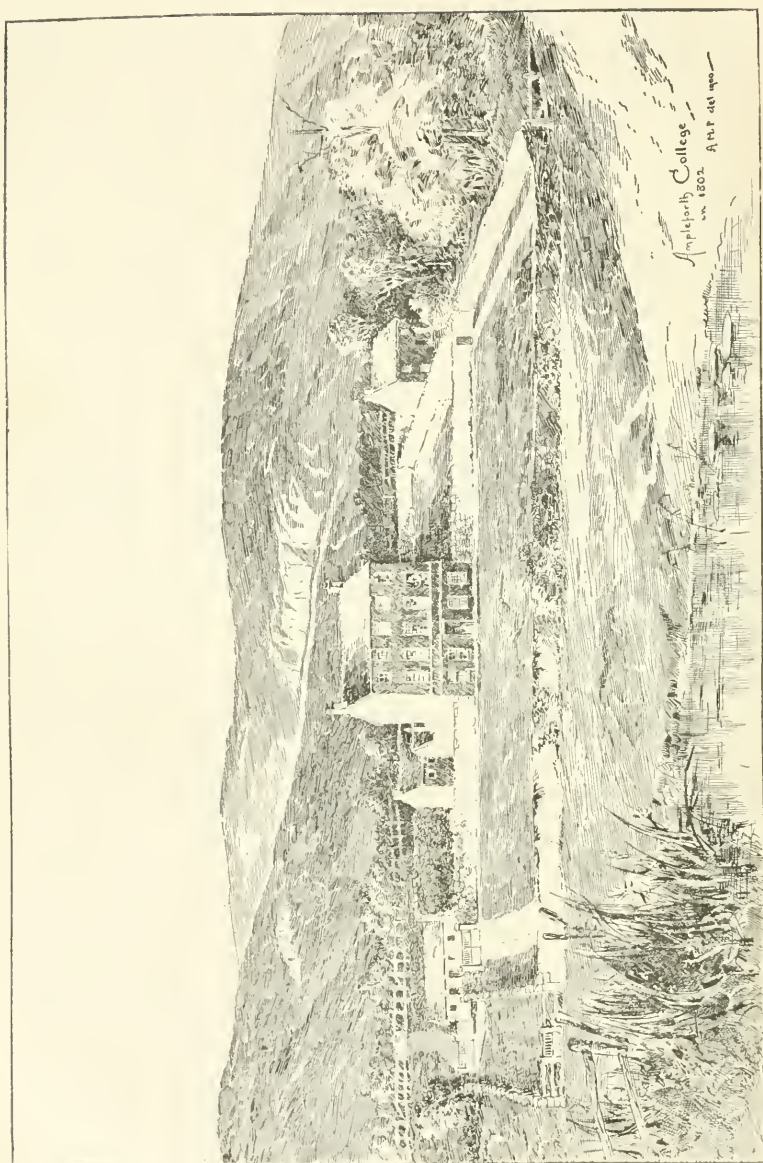
pasture and meadow, watered by streams which, flowing mostly to the east, empty themselves, as the Derwent, into the estuary of the Humber. Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman have left traces of their ancient dwelling in the Vale of Mowbray. There are words of every origin in the names of its villages and hamlets; there is a British camp of refuge on the hill above Ampleforth village; there are Saxon entrenchments on the hill above Byland: there is a Roman road that ran along the southern hill from Barton-le-Street to Crake by Yearsley Moor. The many churches are mostly Norman, partly rebuilt in later styles. It is probable that the valley was nearly as thickly or as sparsely populated in the twelfth century as it is now.

In the central portion of the valley, where the southern hill is broken by an old water-course, built on the western crest of it, is Gilling Castle, the seat of a branch of the Fairfax family. It was through this ancient house that the English Benedictines were connected with Mowbray Vale. Throughout the days of persecution it remained Catholic. Our Fathers, from the first half of the seventeenth century—with a short break of a few years when their place was taken by Jesuits,—served the family as chaplains and served the district as missionaries. Fr. Augustine Hungate, one of the early Provincials of the North, a monk of the old Spanish Profession, was buried at Gilling in 1672. Curiously enough, almost simultaneously with the passing of the first important measure of relief to English Catholics, the building of Ampleforth Lodge was begun; and with its completion the Gilling estate passed out of Catholic hands. In every sense of the word, therefore, Ampleforth Lodge was a direct continuation of the chaplaincy of Gilling Castle, and the Abbey of Ampleforth stands for the growth of the Lodge in the century that followed.

The story of the building of Ampleforth Lodge is the

story of Fr. Anselm Bolton. As we know him by his portrait, he was a fresh-coloured, be-wigged gentleman, with an innocent boyish face. As we know him from his record, he was an amiable, retiring monk and a helpful, edifying much-trusted missionary. He was many years at Gilling Castle, interesting himself in its temporal as well as its spiritual management, holding a position which excited some jealousy, and might easily have excited mistrust, but for his transparent rectitude and simplicity. There was an occasion when he found himself in great trouble. He has the honour of having been the last priest in England prosecuted under the penal laws for the exercise of his priestly functions. He was imprisoned and arraigned at the York Assizes "for traitorously and feloniously practising to absolve, persuade and withdraw one Mary Bentley from her natural obedience to her sovereign and reconcile her to the Pope and See of Rome." The Bentley family had received great kindnesses from the Castle people. The father was a Protestant and the mother a Catholic, and the children were brought up some in one religion and some in the other. Mary had been a dairymaid at the Castle, then chambermaid, and was aspiring to be a lady's maid when she determined to become a Catholic. After proper instruction, with the consent of both her parents, Fr. Bolton received her into the Church. But she was dismissed from service for breaking into the wine-cellar, and her father was deprived of his farm in default of paying his rents. The prosecution of Fr. Bolton was got up to revenge this—out of spite against the Castle. At the trial, the evidence of undue priestly influence was so evidently and clumsily manufactured, that the judge, the Honourable Edward Willes, summarily directed the jury to acquit the prisoner. This was at the Lent Assizes in 1766.

When Fr. Bolton was an old man, and Lady Ann Fairfax, mistress of the Castle, was herself preparing for the grave, she determined to provide beforehand for the comfort





FR. ANSELM BOLTON.

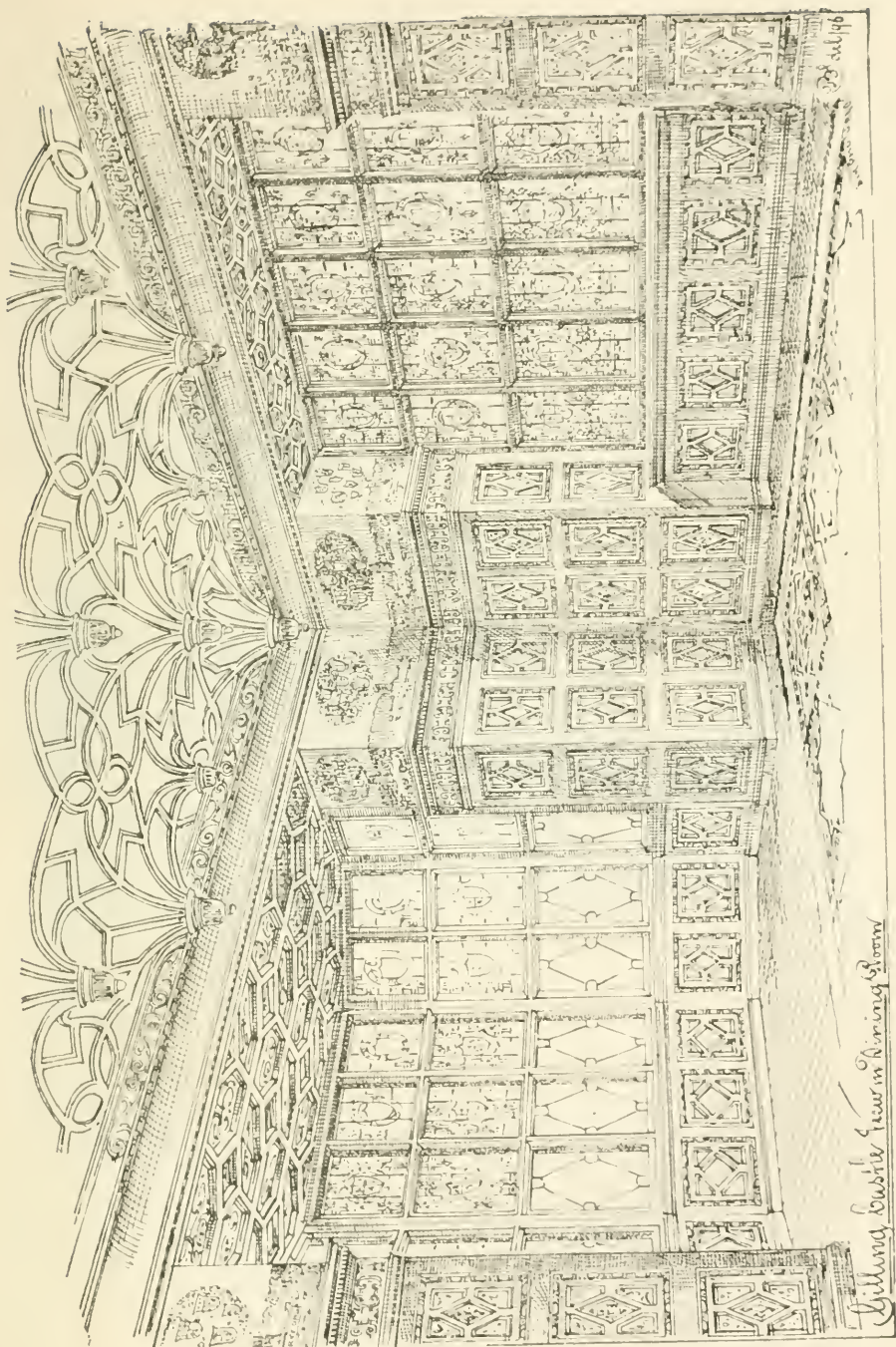
of her faithful chaplain in case he should survive her. For this purpose she purchased a piece of land—not on the Gilling estate; she wished him to be wholly independent of her successor and of everybody else—and built him a house. It is probable that the site and the arrangements were determined by Fr. Bolton himself. Shelter from the north and east winds and a warm south exposure—this was naturally an old man's first thought; then came the water supply,—an important consideration on that dry hill side. The only other question was a central position to suit the convenience of the few Catholics scattered throughout the neighbourhood. All these requirements were met by the site chosen. It lay in the sunshine the whole day through; a great hill sheltered it on the north and a lesser on the east; the pond, visible in the old painting, was evidence of a spring or springs; and with the new short cut to Helmsley, still called Bolton's Bank, the place was as nearly central to the surrounding villages as it could well be. In addition, the old man would have always before his eyes the great park-wood of the Fairfax estate, with Gilling Castle, were he had lived so long, rising above the trees to the south-east. Here a solid square-stoned gentleman's residence was erected, of three tall stories, with the long, flat-headed, key-stoned windows that were the fashion of that date,—a residence which might have belonged to a small squire, a well-endowed parson, or the steward of a great estate. This was Ampleforth Lodge, Lady Ann Fairfax's gift to the retired family chaplain, to be a shelter for him in his declining years.

Fr. Bolton entered into the house as soon as it was completed, and Lady Ann gave him with it about 32 acres of land and, as long as she lived, an annuity of between 200 and 300 pounds. She died in 1793, leaving in her will £2,000 for the endowment of a permanent mission at Ampleforth. This generous intention miscarried. The legacies she made to Catholic charities—this the chief of

them—were contested by the Chevalier de Garcin, her cousin and heir, as being left for superstitious purposes. The Benedictine Superiors, of course, did their best to secure the money, and they succeeded in dragging out the legal preliminaries over some years, hoping vainly that something might turn up to save the legacy—a new Lord Chancellor, or perhaps a new Act of Parliament removing Catholic disabilities. In the end, President Brewer found himself compelled to enter on the “business of a compromise,” as he calls it,—a compromise by which Ampleforth got nothing.

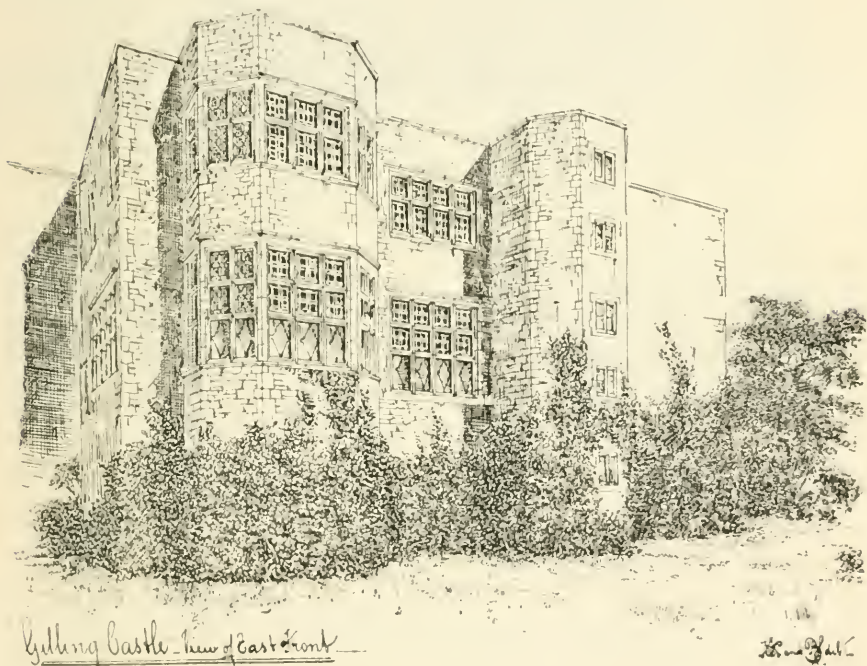
There was no doubt that, according to English law, a legacy to endow or establish a Catholic mission was invalid; and Dr. Brewer, fully aware of it, wisely and unselfishly undertook to withdraw the Ampleforth claim to the £2,000, provided that a smaller legacy of £200 to the Convent at Cambrai was admitted and paid. Our good President General was too large-minded to commit himself to a dog-in-the-manger policy.

It is not often a second trouble or misfortune remedies the first, but President Brewer had afterwards good reason to bless this lost legacy. His one great worry all along had been and was the re-establishment of St. Lawrence's; through the loss of the £2,000 this difficulty was to be removed. Poor Fr. Bolton's arrangements, on the other hand, had come to grief. Ampleforth Lodge, without a pension, was not the haven of rest it had been designed to be. True, it was property; it could therefore be sold or mortgaged to provide for the old man's wants; and for some necessity or other it was at once mortgaged to a Mr. Hewbank of Malton for £1,000. But the idea of an Ampleforth Mission seemed a vain one. There was a house for the priest, but there was no means of support for him, nor any prospect of it. Lady Ann's pious wishes seemed doomed to disappointment. But at this juncture Dr. Brewer conceived the idea of transferring St. Lawrence's



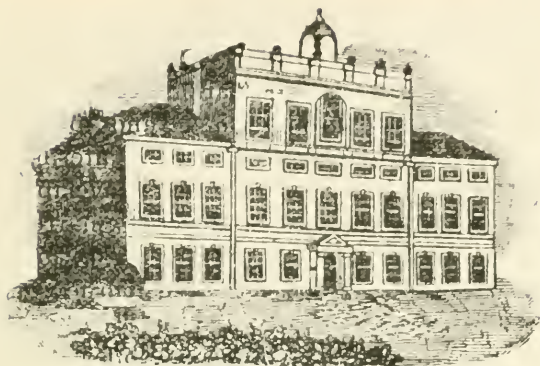
Gilling Castle Dining Room

to Ampleforth Lodge. A mission could not be made out of the place; why not turn it into a monastery? An orchard tree which has proved barren itself may serve as a stock for the grafting of another and perhaps a finer fruit tree. The difficulty was Fr. Bolton. Would it be right or kind to remove him? St. Lawrence's could not afford to wait for the old man's death; with no fresh vocations, no novices,



no noviciate, it was threatening to die out itself. Dr. Brewer, after consulting with Fr. Lacon, the Provincial, went to talk the matter over with Fr. Bolton and gain his consent to the scheme. Some persuasion was needed. It was not easy for the old retired priest to quit the valley he had lived in so long, to sever old and sacred ties, to give up the home which was the reward of faithful labour and which

he had himself planned, to have no home and live as a lodger in another man's house. But Fr. Bolton was a monk and a Laurentian, and he made the sacrifice. On his part Dr. Brewer acted generously. He executed a deed which secured to the aged monk an annuity of £50 and relieved him of the Malton mortgage. Practically, Ampleforth Lodge was purchased from Fr. Bolton for £1,000 and a life-annuity of £50. But it was recognized then, and should be recognized for always, that with Fr. Bolton it was not simply a commercial transaction. It was that most trying sacrifice to an old man, the severing of all the ties which connect him with the past. At the Chapter of 1802, the Fathers acknowledged this by creating him the titular Cathedral Prior of Peterborough. He consented to dwell for the rest of his days at Easingwold or some neighbouring mission, and it was finally arranged that he should live with Fr. Bernard Slater at Birtley. He died there in 1805. Dr. Brewer took possession of Ampleforth Lodge on July 30th, 1802.



CHAPTER XXVIII.

St. Lawrence's at Ampleforth.

CERTAINLY, the good Fr. President had unbounded faith in the future of St. Lawrence's—faith that, with the blessing of God, it would turn every disadvantage to its profit. It was in an out of the way place, which few had ever heard of: it would make itself known by its own merits. Dr. Marsh, it was discovered, had no wish to take up the task of starting the new house: Ampleforth would do without him. Some of the Laurentians who had come over from Dieulouard were tired of teaching and wished to serve on the mission: their services were cheerfully dispensed with. Parbold Hall was doing well and it would be a pity to break it up: let Parbold go on with its work. St. Lawrence's had but £200 a year to keep up both Parbold and Ampleforth: for the first year let Parbold take half the money and Ampleforth would make shift with the rest. There was no bravado in this. It was simply that Dr. Brewer would not let his own scheme interfere with any one else's affairs—that he would not pull down other sound buildings to find stones for the erection of the new St. Lawrence's.

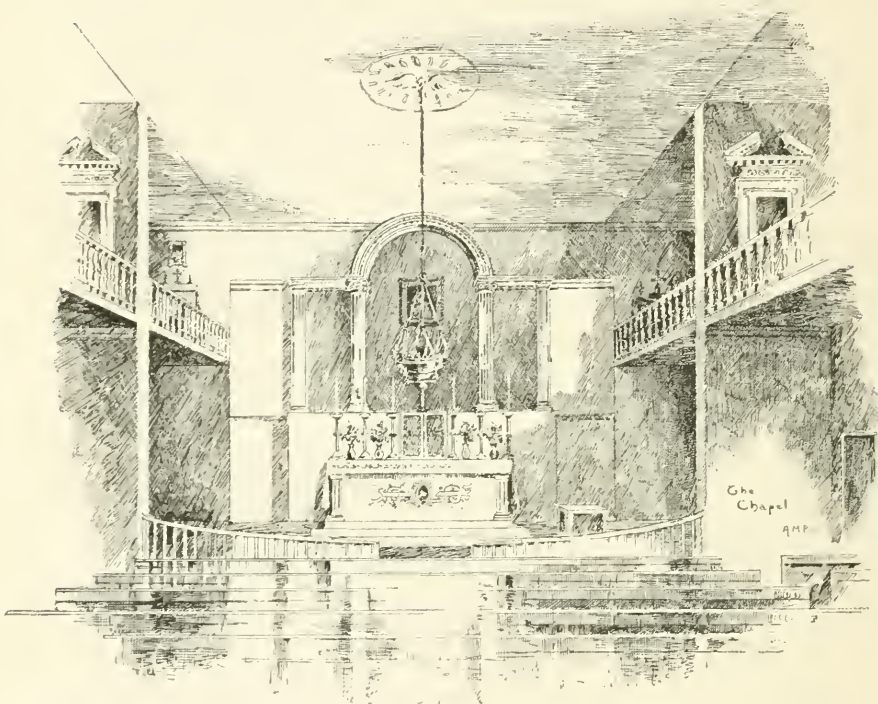
But he did make use of the scattered *débris* of a ruined monastery. Fr. Appleton was elected Prior, at Chapter, in Dr. Marsh's place. He went at once to Ampleforth to make the necessary preparations, and began house-keeping there on September 16th; then, after his installation at Parbold, which took place on November 29th, he and Fr. Alexius Chew—with Br. William Sharrock the lay-brother following after—went to Ampleforth “to commence the new convent.” They started their journey on December 10th. It was not a very promising beginning. But just then Lammspring, the English Abbey in Germany, was dissolved, and the few students in residence were sent adrift. Some of these, less than half-a-dozen, Dr. Brewer got together and forwarded to Ampleforth as the beginning of a college. One of them, Clement Rishton, had finished his noviciate; him the President professed for St. Lawrence's. Three other boys, Molyneux, Baines and Glover, were judged sufficiently advanced to be admitted to the habit. Fr. Bede Slater was sent in as novice-master, and Fr. Chew took his place on the mission. By this means a Community was got together: —Appleton, Prior; Slater, novice-master; Rishton, a Junior; Molyneux, Baines and Glover, novices; Sharrock, a lay-brother. A little later a Mr. Robinson, who had been a surgeon in the navy, joined the Noviciate. It was with these that the daily conventual duties were undertaken which have now lasted uninterruptedly for a full hundred years. Of those who were driven out of Lorraine and had crossed the seas to seek shelter and make a home for themselves in England only two,—Fr. Bede Slater, then a novice, and Br. William Sharrock, a lay-brother; Fr. Alexius Chew went on the mission before conventual life commenced—may be said to have reached the end of their journey. The long wanderings from place to place had proved as fatal as a march across the desert. Four died on the way; one, Anselm Barret, in prison at Pont-à-

Mousson; one, James Johnson, after his release; one, Bennet Marsh, at Birkenhead; and one, Bennet Simpson, at Vernon Hall. Others dropped out to take up other work in different parts of the country. Dr. Marsh and Fr. Francis Cooper remained at Parbold. Such was the beginning of Ampleforth Abbey. "Si ibi fuerit filius pacis requiescet super illum pax vestra." There was no worrying about means and resources; no appealing to the loyalty of Laurentians; no begging for help. But peace settled upon the house—the *pax* of our English Benedictine Congregation; because "the son of peace" was there.

In 1805, during the Christmas holidays, Parbold school was broken up. Everybody had come to wish it, Dr. Marsh included. There was a feeling of relief when it was dismantled; just as when the scaffolding used in the erection of a building is cleared away. Ampleforth now stood out in open view. The parents of the boys were notified that their children would be received at the new College in Yorkshire, if they consented to the arrangement. The original intention that Ampleforth should be a purely monastic seminary was changed, and the College was thrown open to secular students. The Poor Clares, then at Haggerston Castle in Northumberland, agreed at first to take Parbold out of Dr. Marsh's hands, but they changed their minds and the goods left behind were sold by auction.

When the General Chapter met in 1806 some difficulty was found in settling the Priorship of St. Lawrence's. Fr. Appleton had not got on very well with those in his charge. He and Fr. Bede Slater had discovered that their ideas concerning the training of novices did not coincide, and the Community, moved by Fr. Augustine Baines, wished the Prior to be removed. Fr. Tarleton thereupon was elected Prior, but he refused the office. Under the circumstances, Chapter recommended Dr. Brewer to act both as President General and as Prior of Ampleforth.

He accepted the double task ; * but after a few months at Ampleforth both he and the Community turned to Dr. Marsh to help them out of their difficulty. Marsh was then Provincial of the North Province, yet he took upon himself the additional burthen, yielding, he writes, "to the solicitations of friends, not, I acknowledge, without much



reluctance." It must be admitted that the office of Provincial was not more incompatible with the Priorship than that of President General. But, a little later, Dr. Marsh took to himself in addition the mission of Aberford, and his position became distinctly unsatisfactory.

Dr. Brewer should certainly be included in the list of Laurentian Priors. He accepted office and acted for awhile. He was not installed, but a President cannot very well install himself.

As Provincial and missionary he was a good deal away from his monastery. Nevertheless, Ampleforth grew more prosperous under his administration. A granary was built, and the Chapel forming the west wing of the old house was commenced. Several novices were admitted and professed. The school was increased and improved. But, at the following Chapter, in 1810, though Marsh was re-elected Provincial, he was not re-elected Prior. Fr. Gregory Robinson succeeded him, made eligible by a special decree of Chapter, which removed the bar of youthfulness in the habit "*pro hac tantum vice.*" The Community afterwards took ineffectual exception to the election, pleading that they did not know of this 'extension of the passive voice' when they sent in their votes.

Vigour, good sense, and strong discipline were the characteristics of Fr. Robinson's administration. Matins in the summer time began at 4 o'clock. There was a spirit of sacrifice and hard work both in the Community and the School. A fixed course of ecclesiastical studies was drawn up and determined.* Drawing and dancing masters were introduced. Building operations were also recommenced. As a matter of fact room was needed badly. President Brewer had declared, in his address to Chapter that there were four more young men ready to take the habit at Ampleforth as soon as they could be accommodated. It was then that the East wing, containing calefactory, library and cells, was added on to the old house, and kitchens and servants' rooms built at the back.† Fr. Augustine Baines, who, young as he was, was now playing a leading rôle, is said to have been responsible for the architectural symmetry of the additions. Truly

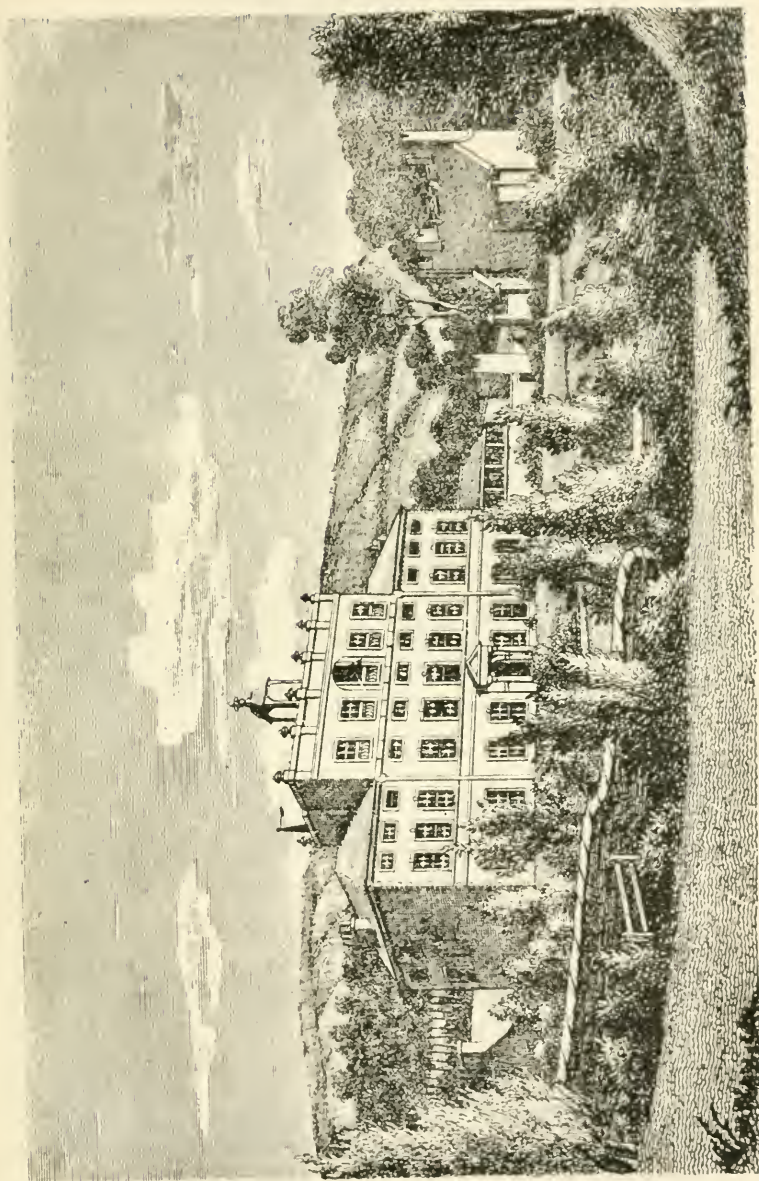
* An adaptation of the old Lammspring course.

† Dr. Brewer gave a large sum out of his own pocket as a contribution to the work.

Fr. Bolton's house had already grown out of knowledge. It was no longer like a small manor house, but had taken on itself a sub-palatial appearance. Originally a nearly square block, other narrower cubes had been added as wings on either side, giving it the appearance, from the front, of a triptych with its *volets* opened wide, and another cube had been set upon the top of the centre block—now that the base was broad enough to carry it—to make it more symmetrical. Elegance was provided by a two-pillared porch, an ornamental parapet, decorated with six “mushrooms,” along the sky line of the central facade, and a central belfry. Finally, Prior Robinson introduced in the school the mnemonic system of Professor von Feinagle.

Fr. Augustine Baines (afterwards Bishop of Siga) has usually been credited with the introduction of this system, and also with everything good that was done at Ampleforth in the early days. Such a man, so facile in speech and fertile in conception, so bold in his plans and, at the same time, so restless and changeful and pushing in their execution, must necessarily have had an influence in the Community that can hardly be exaggerated. But Prior Robinson was a man who thought and acted for himself. Fr. Augustine was not yet particularly interested in the College. He passed through nearly every position in the house before he became Prefect of Studies and manager of the school. Under Robinson he acted as Junior Master and Professor of Philosophy, then as Sub-prior, afterwards as Cellerarius, and last of all as Prefect of Studies. He only resigned the Procurator's duties and took up the scholastic office in 1814. At that time the Feinagle system was no novelty at Ampleforth. Br. Bede Polding and Br. Jerom Jenkins were already there, sent from St. Gregory's to study it.

Neither can the rising reputation of the school, the influx of students, and those, many of them, sons of the nobility,



Engraving of the University of Cambridge, 1849.

be traced to Baines' influence. Perhaps the aristocratic connexion should be looked upon as an inheritance from Vernon Hall. Dr. Baines as Prefect advertised loudly and pushed the school greatly, but he was only sustaining and bettering a reputation already won. Some months before he took up the management of the College, the General Chapter had given public thanks and praise, in a formal decree, to the Prior and his Community for the excellence of the discipline and studies at St. Lawrence's.* No doubt Fr. Augustine had much to do with the happy result, and deserves a special meed of praise, but after all it was combined ability and merit and not the super-eminence of one man which had led to the success. And, if not literally the master-mind, the wise, controlling, directing mind was the Prior, Fr. Gregory Robinson.

We make no apology for printing in full Fr. Augustine Baines' voluminous advertisement of Ampleforth College in the Laity's Directory for 1815. It is characteristic of the man, and is also a quantitative if not a qualitative analysis of the schoolwork. It begins with the Prospectus of the examination of studies at the previous Midsummer Exhibition. The *viva-voce* examination was held in public and was conducted chiefly by distinguished visitors invited to take part in it. Tradition tells of the celebrated Rev. Sydney Smith as being present on some such an occasion or occasions:—

HEBREW.

The first class will explain different parts of the Old Testament, both in the Historical and the Prophetical Books.

* The decree runs:—"Ordinatum quoque est ut gratiæ habeantur R. D. Gregorio Robinson Priori Conventuali Monasterii sancti Laurentii, illiusque Monasterii monachis, propter eminentem illo in Monasterio regularis disciplinæ observantiam, studiorumque diligentem et felicem prosecutionem. Dicto Priori cura est demandata ut illius Monasterii Monachos de isto Decreto certiores in suo reditu faceret."

GREEK.

The first and second classes will explain four orations of Demosthenes, and answer such questions as may be put respecting the Grammar and Syntax.

The third class will explain some chapters in Xenophon and Demosthenes, and answer to the Grammar and Syntax.

LATIN.

The first class will explain the first book of Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, the second his *Treatise De Senectute*. They will answer to the Grammar and Syntax.

The third class will explain some chapters of Caesar's *Commentaries*, and answer to the Grammar and Syntax.

FRENCH.

The first and second classes will explain Bossuet's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, and answer to the Grammar and Syntax.

HISTORY.

The first and second classes will answer to the general history of the world, from its creation to the birth of Christ, so as to fix the Chronology of all the principal events recorded in Ancient History and to give a connected account of the particular Histories of Rome, Greece, Assyria, etc.

The third class will answer to the same history down to the foundation of Rome.

Some of both classes will answer in Greek or English.

GEOGRAPHY.

The first and second classes will answer to the general geography of the world, and to the particular geography of the different countries of Europe, specifying their situation and extent, their population, productions, etc., their natural divisions by mountains, rivers, etc., and their political divisions into provinces, counties, etc. The longitude and latitude of the principal towns in each country will be given. They will also draw out maps of Europe and Africa without a copy.

The third class will answer in the same manner to the geography of Europe.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Quadrupeds, etc.—Linnaeus's Mammalia.

The first class will give the orders, genera, and species of quadrupeds, etc., as classed by Linnaeus under the name of Mammalia. It comprises seven orders, 53 genera, and 124 species, to each of which will be assigned its name, generic and specific character, etc. A short account will be given of the different animals, and their economy of life.

ORNITHOLOGY.

The second class will give Linnaeus's arrangement of the history of birds, comprehending six orders, 88 genera, and 343 species, to each of which will be assigned its generic and specific names, characters, etc.

BOTANY.

The first and second classes will answer to their botany, as in the preceding year.

The third class will give Linnaeus's System of Botany and will assign the characteristic marks to any of the plants they have been able to meet with during the year, comprising about 200 genera and 260 species.

ARITHMETIC AND ALGEBRA.

The first and second classes will work any sums that may be proposed to them, in any of the principal rules of Arithmetic and Algebra, and generally without slate or paper.

GEOMETRY.

The first class will be examined both in the theoretical and practical branches of geometry.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

A most minute account will be given of this history from the landing of Julius Caesar, 55 years before Christ, to the present time, comprising more than a thousand different dates, with a detail of all the wars, invasions, changes of government, of religion, etc., and an account of the Princes and celebrated characters, in Church and State, both during the complex period of the Heptarchy, and in subsequent times. The geography of England, as it existed at different periods has been learnt, along with the corresponding history, and may be examined.

“The above prospectus has been reprinted to enable parents in general to form some idea of the plan of Education pursued at Ampleforth. The languages are learnt partly in succession and partly at the same time. Every year at stated periods, one or more new languages are commenced. The students have been thoroughly grounded in the grammar of the English language, then Greek is taken next, then the Latin. The French, Italian, German and other living languages succeed in their turn, according to the abilities or leisure of the student. The ecclesiastical students are also taught Hebrew. In the meantime an extensive course of other studies is carried regularly on, embracing ancient and modern history, general and particular geography, arithmetic, all the branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, different departments of natural history, metaphysics, ethics, &c. Some of the more extensive branches, as history and geography are carried on during the whole period of the education; others of a more confined nature, occupy a limited space of time, and succeed each other in a regular and systematic order. In four or six years, according to the abilities or age of the student, the course of studies is intended to be completed.”

“To those who are unacquainted with the means by which so extensive a plan of instruction is completed in a time comparatively short, it may naturally occur that what is so speedily acquired can only be superficially learned. It is partly with a view of correcting this mistake, that a public annual examination of studies has been appointed to take place; and it is the particular desire of those who preside over the institution that nothing on these occasions should be passed over slightly, but everything thoroughly and strictly examined. To the same source of information they refer those who may imagine or have been informed by persons unacquainted with the plan that it is a system of rote, calculated to overburden the memory and weaken the judgment. Let those who may be impressed by these ideas take the trouble to decide for themselves and not be guided by the hasty decisions or bold assertions of others. Speculative reasonings on subjects of this nature may often lead to false conclusions, particularly when the principles on which the judgment is to be formed are not well known. Experience is a certain and unerring guide. It will be perceived from the pro-

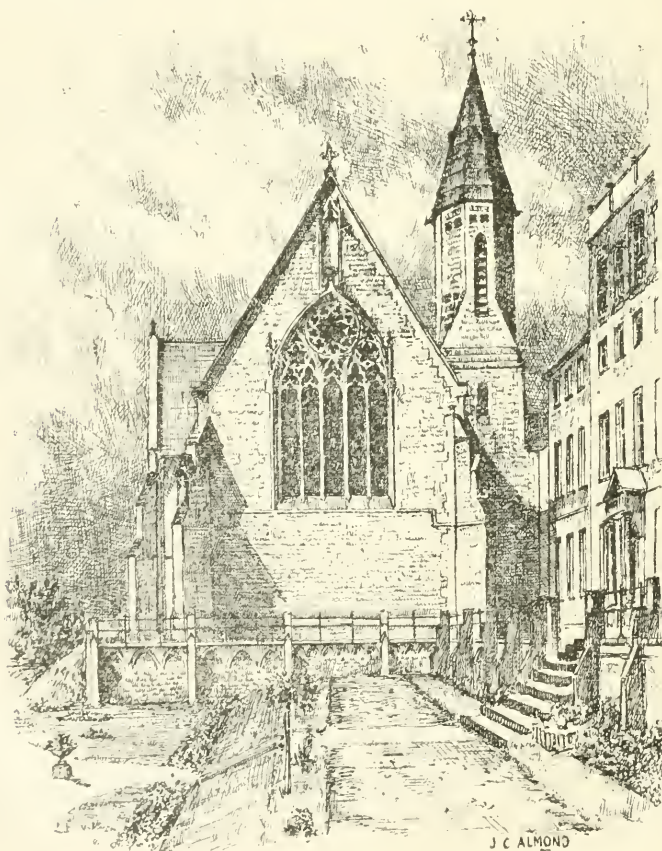
spectus, that all the subjects contained in it, except the history of England, have been learnt by the first class. They are the portion of studies allotted to the two first years. If the progress made by this class in four different languages and in all the above branches of learning be compared with the time that has been employed, and if it be moreover considered that the novelty of the plan has presented many obstacles which will not again occur, it is hoped that it will not be difficult to appreciate the merits of a system which, whilst it renders the classical part of education more extensive, combines, at the same time, every principal branch of useful information, and enables a young man, on quitting the college, to appear in Society with the solid learning of a scholar as well as the elegant acquirements of a gentleman."

"The system of education was communicated to the college by Professor von Feinagle the inventor of it, who has himself an extensive establishment on the same plan at Luxembourg, and at Aldborough House, Dublin."

The reader will find, if he looks for them, many things to surprise him in this advertisement. He will wonder, no doubt, how Von Feinagle's system could enable some, even in the lower classes, to answer their Ancient History questions in Greek if desired to do so. He will wonder at the mental qualities which enabled the students to work most of the sums in all the principal rules of Arithmetic and Algebra without slate or paper. He will wonder at the facile memories which found the Linnæan system of Natural History and Botany hardly sufficient to go round. But Fr. Baines evidently expected the readers to be surprised, and his answer is "come and see for yourselves." The real surprise of the advertisement is the confident assurance which demands to be put to the test.

Professor Von Feinagle's system had much notoriety for a brief period. There were many—chiefly those who had not learnt it—who fancied him a quack, because of the secrecy he exacted from his disciples. But there were

many others who believed his plan akin to a revelation: these were those who paid the five guineas for the course of fifteen lectures. Ampleforth dropped the system out of use gradually—whether wisely or not it is impossible to say. What we can say of it is that it brought students to the College and set it in the foremost place among Catholic scholastic institutions. And we can also say of it that, if judged by its results,—by the distinction of the “scholars and gentlemen” educated at St. Lawrence’s after its plan—it deserved much if not all the praise Fr. Baines claimed for it.



CHAPTER XXIX.

The Re-founding of St. Edmund's at Douai.

THE reader will remember that Dr. Marsh had already made one fruitless visit to France to see if any of the Dieulouard property could be recovered. After the Chapter in 1814, whilst Napoleon was at Elba, he and President Brewer made a second journey for the same purpose. They discovered that all the unsold* remains of British property in France had been lumped together (about the year 1804) to found, with the combined funds, a College on the model of a Lycée, with a Proviseur and other officers appointed by the Minister of the Interior in charge of it. A Mr. Walsh, an Irish priest, received the first appointment as Proviseur, and Fr. Parker, the Prior of St. Edmund's, was made Économe. So far all was well for the property, except that, since a good deal of it was monastic by right, it was practically a confiscation to make use of it to found a Secular college. Then, a Mr. Ferris, a priest who had unfrocked himself to join the Irish Brigade, and at the peace of Amiens had returned to France from the West Indies and taken up the profession of a lawyer, managed to get control of the administration of the funds. He administered them to his own profit. For his own purposes he prevented by intrigues any final settlement of affairs, putting, says Dr. Marsh, "somewhere about £3000 annually into his pocket." When Drs. Marsh and Brewer arrived in Paris he was all powerful, and it was only through him that any business could be done. Therefore, as

* The property which had changed hands at the Republican auction-sales was, of course, wholly irrecoverable.

Dr. Marsh says of himself, "I did not scruple to avail myself of his services, tho' I find it was displeasing to some others, who had too much scrupulosity or too much hauteur to do the same."

In consequence, "after a month of disagreeable solicitations," an *ordonnance du Roi* was obtained, which restored whatever Dieulouard property was still unsold and appointed Dr. Marsh its administrator. The result was that he was put in possession, by the District Prefect, of some 70 or 80 acres, mostly woodland, bringing in, clear of all expenses of administration, 300 or 400 francs of revenue.

This accomplished, Dr. Marsh returned to England (he attempted to cross the Channel during the great storm in which the Ostend packet, the Queen Charlotte, went down with all hands on board) believing that he had satisfactorily settled everything. Then came Napoleon's escape from Elba, overturning amongst some other things Dr. Marsh's little arrangement. But the Waterloo Campaign and the Restoration of Louis XVII raised new hopes, and 1815 saw Dr. Marsh back again in Paris on the old business.

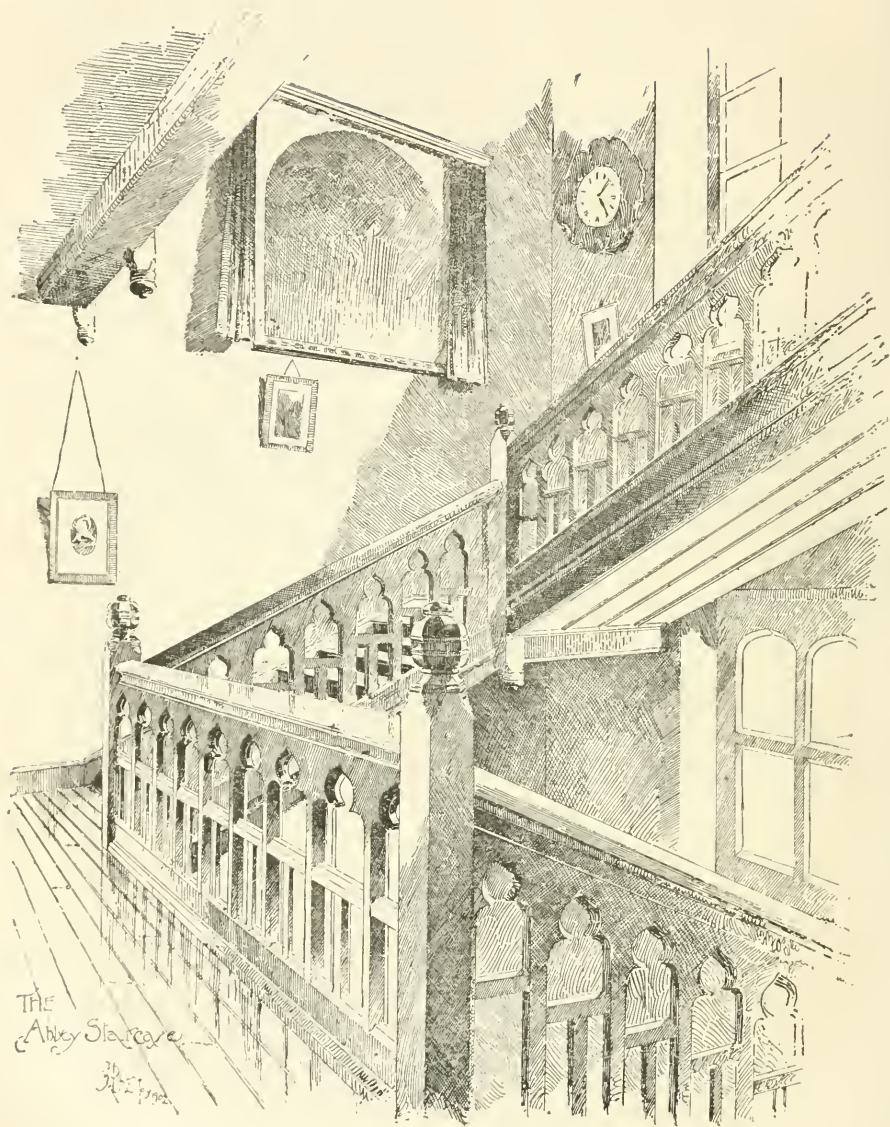
If the reader will picture to himself the indefatigable Doctor, nominally on the mission at Aberford, officially Provincial of the North, in reality Congregational agent in France, crossing hurriedly over to England, once a year or so, to look at his mission and do a little Provincial (afterwards Presidential) business, then hurrying back to France again; carrying on his disastrous speculation at Pilling Moss as one episode, visiting Rome on important Benedictine business as another; involved either as judge, advocate, appellant or defendant in a number of intricate legal controversies; scheming to find money and subjects to refound St. Edmund's at Douai; scheming to find further monies to make good his own loss at Pilling; writing sheaves of close-written, carefully-composed let-

ters; teaching a school and undertaking a course of lectures in philosophy—all of these things or most of them concurrently; he will have an idea of Marsh's labours at this period and an illustration both of his strength and of his weakness. Here, however, we need only take notice of his employment in France. When he arrived there, he found the fragment of the Dieulouard property unmeddled with. Then, he and Fr. Parker succeeded in securing the administration of St. Edmund's at Paris and St. Gregory's at Douai to Fr. Parker and Fr. Lawson respectively. But the question arose, what use was to be made of these properties? The revenue from them could only be spent on the education of students in France. Neither Downside nor Ampleforth could benefit a tittle by what was recovered. Fr. Parker had all along been labouring for the simple and sole purpose of reviving his old convent of St. Edmund in Paris. This became President Brewer's and Fr. Marsh's object also. They believed that a Congregation should consist of at least three houses—a Congregation of two meant rivalries and jealousies; as Cardinal Cappellari said later, it was a case of "*Quis eorum videretur major?*" But there were some very evident difficulties. First, there were no Edmundians to make up a Community. Only five Paris monks were living: all of them old, one of them retired, and their head, the Prior, Fr. Parker, conscious that at the most he had only a year or so to live. Secondly, the house at Paris was now a cotton factory and the *Bureau des Établissements Britanniques* had stripped it of its furniture, even of the choir-stalls and altar-piece, to furnish the Irish College. Fr. Parker then made the suggestion that, with the permission of St. Gregory's, an attempt might be made to re-establish St. Edmund's, not at Paris, but in the empty, forsaken, Gregorian buildings at Douai.

Fr. Parker, however, had so little faith in the eventual

revival of St. Edmund's in any shape, that when he died in July, 1817, he made Dr. Marsh his sole heir and executor, with instructions that his money, bringing in £173 a year, should be appropriated to Ampleforth. Laurentians as they both were, not for a moment did President Brewer or Provincial Marsh hesitate about the disposal of Fr. Parker's money. They had only one thought—to make use of it to carry out what they knew to be the true wish of their dead brother, the object for which he had toiled and scraped and suffered indignities and hardships, the restoration of the old Paris house. They therefore set the will or instructions aside. No one will blame them for doing so. It is better to choose the just judgment rather than the legal one. Prior Burgess, who discovered the private instructions among Dr. Brewer's papers after his death in 1823, claimed the money for Ampleforth. But his appeal to Chapter failed; and all Laurentians will be glad of it.

With his usual persistence, Dr. Marsh went on with his schemes. After delay and difficulty he got hold of Fr. Parker's money and took possession of the house at Douai. Then, as soon as the Chapter of 1818 was ended, he got some boys together and took them over to France. Br. Charles Fairclough recently professed at Ampleforth was lent him as an assistant. This was in the autumn; he went to England and brought some more boys back with him in the spring of 1819. He did the teaching of the little school himself. Thus the new Douai was fairly begun, and in 1822, as President, he asked the Chapter's approval of his work in France—that is, a confirmation of the revived St. Edmund's and permission to take novices; but, chiefly through Dr. Baines' opposition, it was refused him. Nothing daunted, he returned to Douai with the determination to make use of a visit to the Holy See to get such an approval as would justify him in over-ruling the Chapter's



decision. Accordingly, when the Easter of 1823 was over, he went to Rome on Congregational business, and came back with a Rescript permitting the translation of St. Gregory's, formerly at Douai, to Downside; St. Lawrence's, formerly at Dieulouard, to Ampleforth; St. Edmund's, formerly at Paris, to Douai; Cambrai to Salford, and Lammspring to wherever it might in the future be determined, provided that the Ordinary of each place formally sanctioned such establishment. After his return, though the Regimen refused him permission, he took it upon himself to clothe such of the students at Douai as were ready, and began conventual life. He obtained three Laurentians, Fr. Clement Rishton, Fr. Basil Bretherton and Br. Jerome Hampson, to help him to make up a Community. So was commenced the monastery, now the abbey of St. Edmund's, which has flourished at Douai up to the present year.*

And so ended, with the Chapter of 1826 and the approbation of Douai, Dr. Marsh's busy official life,† in a great work bravely done and a brilliant career ruined in the doing of it. He retired with health and ability at their best, with fresh laurels added to the old, but without the applause and approbation which make them prized and honoured, and without that sympathy between himself and his brethren which renders responsibility acceptable. Looking back on his own career, he found it difficult to understand the blame that was put upon him. And we, looking from this distance of time at the part he played in English Benedictine history, judge his mistakes to have been nothing worse than the stumbles of a willing horse under too great a burden. He sought nothing for himself, not even the authority which he is supposed to have mis-

* At the moment when St. Edmund's was re-established there were only three Edmundians living: Cuthbert Wilks at Tours; Bernard Ryding at Warwick Bridge; and John Turner at Holme. As every one knows, St. Edmund's has recently been expelled from France and has taken of its abode at Woolhampton.

† He became President once again after Fr. Birdsall's reign, but he was not the same man. He seemed then to shrink from responsibility.

used ; not even the work which may be said to have overwhelmed him ; not even the comforts of an honoured old age. Let us admit that he was an unreliable accountant ; that he made one, perhaps more than one, unwarranted speculation with some of the funds of the Order ; that he spent certain monies in unauthorized ways. On the other hand, no one made a more unselfish use of what came into his hands. He had no personal greed. He spent his last days at one of the loneliest and poorest of missions. If he was eager to make money quickly, it was because the Congregation had urgent need of it. As for his persistence in founding St. Edmund's in the face of the opposition of most of his brethren, against the will of Chapter, and in spite of the decision of the Regimen, we are freely permitted to admire it, since a later Chapter not only forgave but applauded it. In fact, at the Chapter of 1826,* Dr. Marsh triumphed over all the charges brought against him, but felt himself forced to resign the dignity of President. He had gained one of those forensic victories which are nearly as disastrous as a defeat. There was no enthusiastic or generous acquittal of the charges against him ; the verdict was no more than a declaration of Not proven. It is not too much to say that he retired to Woolston a disappointed and a broken man.

Here the career of another distinguished Amplefordian calls for some slight notice. Fr. Bede Slater has already been mentioned as one of the founders, and the first Novice-Master, of the new St. Lawrence's. Some years later, in 1814, he was commissioned to treat with the Hanoverian Government concerning the re-establishment of Lammspring. He obtained a promise either of the restoration of the old English monastery or of the gift of another in Hildesheim ; but this offer was afterwards withdrawn. However, he managed to secure to each of the ex-Lammspring monks—himself included by someone's mistake, since

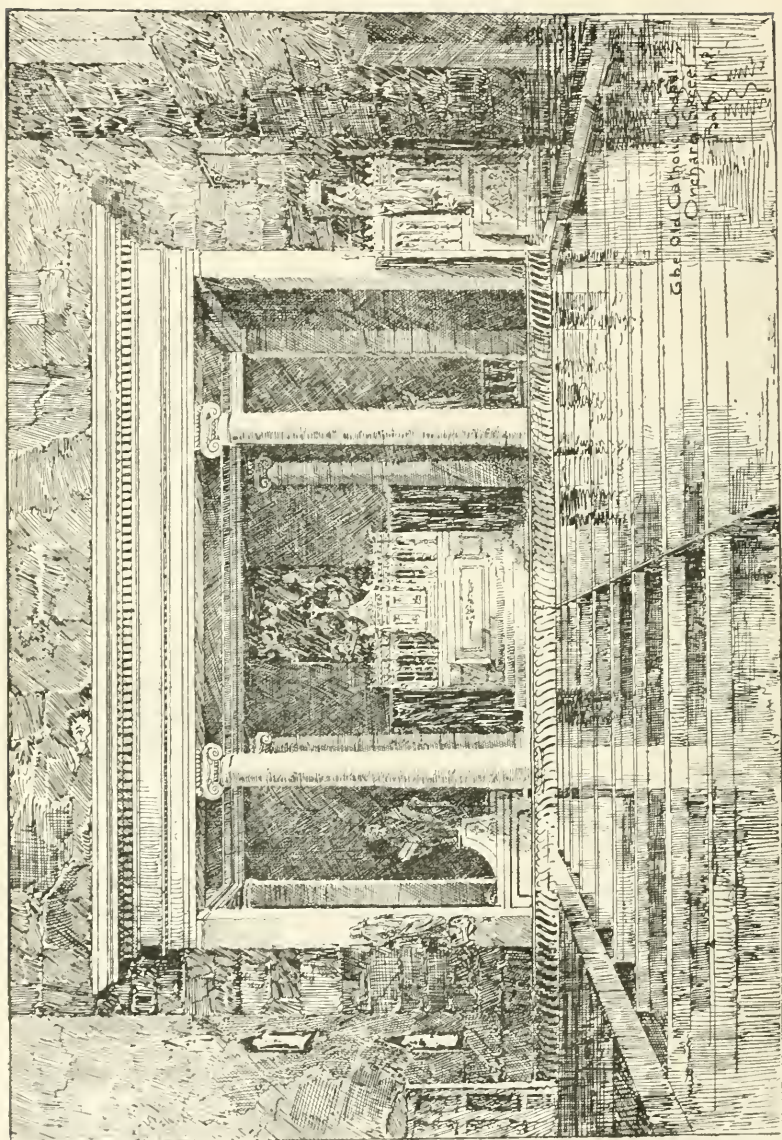
* This same Chapter finally rejected the proposal to unite Lammspring, now hopelessly broken up, with Ampleforth.

he was a Laurentian—an annuity of £50 during his lifetime, as some slight compensation for the loss of the convent and estate. Some little while after, broken down in health and on crutches through rheumatism, he obtained permission to accompany Mr. Fairfax of Gilling Castle to Rome. Whilst there, he was commissioned to continue the Lamm-spring negotiations, which had been revived through the discussion of a Concordat between the Hanoverian Government and the Holy See; but he was refused the appointment of Procurator in Curia Romana, and refused also by the President the dignity of a Cathedral Priorship, which honour he had solicited for the sake of a better hearing at the Roman Court. His pretensions seem to have amused his uncle Dr. Brewer, who wrote to him in December, 1817: “It would give me very great pleasure indeed to hear you had recovered the loss of the decayed leg (the worthy President clearly did not expect him to recover anything else). I am afraid you would make but an awkward figure in being presented to His Holiness leaning on a crutch. That circumstance probably more than any other would occasion some talk of you in the higher circles.” However, Fr. Slater was making a better appearance than his uncle, the President, imagined. He had put on a ring, assuming for the occasion the dignity of an Abbot, and he left Rome leaning not on a crutch but a crozier. He was consecrated Bishop of Ruspa on June 28th, 1818, and went out to the Mauritius as Vicar Apostolic of the Cape of Good Hope and other colonies in the Southern Hemisphere. He was an able man, devoted to the Congregation and House of his profession, of considerable energy and initiative,—a man of large schemes which mostly came to nothing, whose services to the Order were of questionable advantage to it. His last effort was an attempt to bring about the establishment of the English Benedictines in the Mauritius. He was superseded some years later by Bishop Morris and died, and was buried, at sea on his way back to England.

CHAPTER XXX.

An Unmonastic Reform.

OUR story, now, has to do with two eminent sons of St. Lawrence's who, in the pursuit of schemes entirely good and praiseworthy in themselves, nearly gave it its death blow. The first of these was Fr. Augustine Baines, the well-known and much admired Bishop of Siga, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. The second was Fr. Lawrence Burgess, a notable Prior of Ampleforth, afterwards Bishop of Clifton. They were men of very different characters, but with very similar aims and ambitions, and quite the same dislikes and prejudices; close friends when at a distance away from one another, incompatible when together. When young men, Dr. Burgess was the sincere admirer of his brilliant companion,—an admiration which, at one period of his life, was humble, ardent and worshipful, and which was never less than loyal. On the other hand, Dr. Baines began with a somewhat contemptuous patronage of his admirer,—a patronage which warmed into a superficial friendship and ended in a lukewarm respect. Throughout their lives there was always between them something of the big boy and little boy relationship which had begun at College, or more correctly, perhaps, that of master and pupil. Not that there was much difference in age—five years only; but the difference was accentuated by the fact that one was a brilliant scholar, a linguist and an orator, whilst the other learned with difficulty and could make no claim to any exceptional attainments. Peter Baines was born at Kirkby, on the Ince Blundell estate, in the year 1786. Sufficient notice has been taken





THE RIGHT REV. P. A. BAINES, D.D.
Bishop of Siga.

incidentally of the story of his youth. Over and above what has been said, it should be remarked of the period at Ampleforth that he filled all the chief offices of the house in quick succession, with the exception of that of Prior. It was at his own changeful wish. Like Bottom the Weaver, he had a desire to play all parts. On account of this he was accused of discontent and ambition. It was certainly characteristic of him to be discontented if things did not go to his mind, and to be ambitious that things should be done rightly. But it was hardly ambition in the strict sense of the word. He was quite capable of laying down the office of Sub-prior or Professor of Theology to become head-gardener or cook. No doubt it did look like ambition, perhaps was ambition, when he became discontented with his Priors; but he was probably unaware of it. He was only doing what he believed to be best. Useful, however, as he made himself, and valuable as his work was in whatever position he was placed, he became distinctly unpopular in the Community. He was much admired, doubtless, by the younger men. But his brethren in office were uneasy in his companionship, as they naturally are with a man who is never satisfied with a thing unless he has done it himself.

He left Ampleforth for Bath in the year 1817. On the Mission his wonderful gifts raised him rapidly into eminence. He had a noble voice, large dark speaking eyes, a natural gift of oratory, a fine presence, manly energy, and that quality of leadership which we call personal magnetism. He was also, throughout his life, devoted to the duties of his position, whether as monk or priest or bishop. But here Cardinal Wiseman's well-known estimate of his colleague, in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, should be considered authoritative. As a preacher the Cardinal says of him: "The flow of his words was easy and copious, his imagery was often very elegant, and his discourses were replete with thought and solid matter. But his great

power was in his delivery—in voice, in tone, in look, in gestures. His whole manner was full of pathos; there was a peculiar tremulousness of voice, which gave his words more than double effect.” Of his personal attractiveness the Cardinal writes: “He had a power of fascinating all who approached him; on every subject he had a command of language, and a clear manner of expressing himself, which secured attention and generally won assent. Hence his acquaintances were always willing listeners, and soon became admirers, and then warm partisans.” The use of the last word by the Cardinal is significant, and shows how thoroughly he understood his subject and how accurately and delicately he expressed himself. Dr. Baines was one of those men whose schemes and ambitions are as part of themselves. He was not so much wrapped up in himself as in his ideas. They were his pardonable vanity. He never forgot them even in his moments of relaxation. They were an undercurrent even in his desultory conversation. Hence it was that those who disagreed with him, or were opposed to his views, mistrusted him most when he was most friendly with them. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that it was a trick of his to surprise a concession from an opponent off his guard; at the moment, for instance, of signing an agreement or effecting a reconciliation. Hence, also, when he was the top of admiration and popularity, he made ‘partisans’ rather than friends.

Public attention was drawn to him when at Bath by his controversy with Archdeacon Moysey. It was a triumph; “Baines’s Defence” was quite the most popular ecclesiastical pamphlet of its day. Its merit is incontestable, though now-a-days it is of little more than antiquarian interest. From this moment his reputation as a preacher spread throughout the kingdom. Such of his discourses as were printed were eagerly sought for, and one, preached at Bradford after he became Bishop, went through a great number of editions. His reputation and merits induced

Dr. Collingridge, Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, to ask for him as coadjutor. He was consecrated Bishop of Siga on the 1st of May, 1823.*

An impoverished diocese ; priests too few even for the little work that could be found for them ; churches without distinction or beauty—temporary makeshifts, many of them ; parish schools not only inadequate, but practically non-existent : this was the state of things with which Bishop Baines was confronted. His fertile brain was not long busy before it discovered what seemed to him a possible remedy and, what to him was of more consequence, a quick one. He was not the sort of man to plant a seed and wait in patience for its growth. His way was to look out for a full-grown tree and then transplant it bodily. He had that impetuous spirit which cannot content itself with future hopes and slow development. And since he would not wait to construct and was too poor to buy, it remained for him to beg, or borrow, or pick up in some lawful way what he wanted. He believed he had found just the very thing to set his diocese straight, in the monastery, college, monks, and resources of the prosperous Benedictine establishment at Downside.

His proposition, made as a secret to the Prior and the President General, was to transform the Benedictine Priory into a Diocesan Seminary and College, and to secure the services and resources of the monks exclusively to his diocese. For this purpose their obedience was to be transferred to him, who would have the authority of both President and Provincial. They were to remain Benedictines ; he did not then think it possible to interfere with the monastic vows. At first, President Marsh was inclined to favour the idea, though he wrote before Bishop

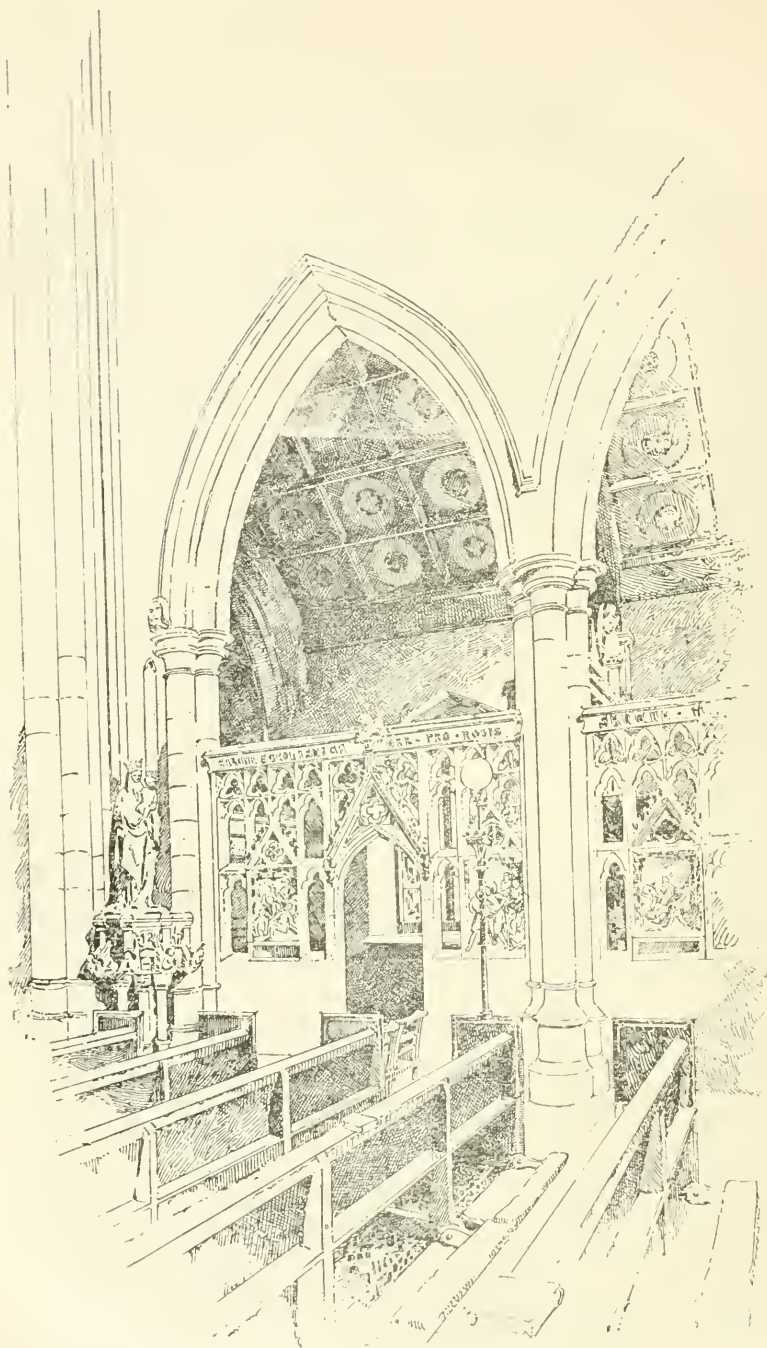
* Bishop Collingridge's first choice was Dr. Marsh, then President General of the Benedictines. But he was understood to require some assurances from Dr. Marsh as to his loyalty to the Holy See. This was naturally resented and the affair was dropped.

Baines' consecration : " As Mr. Baines is now coadjutor (elect), I should not be surprised if he endeavours to get Downside under him and indeed all the Congregation." But the Prior and the Council of the House refused to consider the admissibility of a proposition which made over Downside and all its belongings to the Bishop of the Western District and his successors. To do this would be to break up the English Benedictine Congregation.

The next move was a proposition for the monks of St. Gregory's and St. Lawrence's to exchange properties, giving the Laurentians the chance to do what the Gregorians refused. But here it is necessary to go back to the history of Ampleforth after Dr. Baines went on the mission.

At the Chapter of 1818, there was some trouble in choosing a Prior of Ampleforth. Fr. Bernard Glover was first elected, but he declined the honour. So did Fr. Bernard Robinson. Finally, at the fifth attempt, Fr. Lawrence Burgess accepted the office, on condition that Dr. Brewer took up residence at Ampleforth to give him countenance. He was then only 27 years of age. The good old President left his mission in compliance with the request, and readily sacrificed his comfort for the welfare of the house he had founded. He was 76 years of age at the time.

Let me quote the description of these Dr. Brewer's last days, written by one who was at Ampleforth with him (Fr. Allanson) :—" At this period he was truly the Father of the Congregation ; humble, regular and much respected. He never failed to attend Divine Office and took a meditation in the Chapel before the morning Office began. In imitation of Venerable Bede he always said the Conventual Mass. Even when engaged with guests he would always leave them to attend the Choir. He always recreated with the Community after dinner and supper, mingling with them as one of themselves—always affable,



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always cheerful and even sometimes playful. He nearly always preached on Sundays—his sermons were simple but earnest. He took charge of the small congregation—was kind and charitable to the poor. He read daily the life of some saint, and the *Following of Christ* was his constant companion, prayer and meditation his constant occupation. On every Sunday morning the venerable man was seen at the usual time to go to make his confession to his director. There was no ostentation or external show about his life. His acts of humiliation were not unfrequent. His strong ascetical opinions gained ascendancy over his mind and made him attach great importance to certain claustral observances which he tried to enforce upon others.* He thus came across the Prior and the Council, and he at last withdrew to Woolton. While at Ampleforth he spent £1000 in building the Refectory block. He had a paralytic stroke whilst preaching at Woolton, but recovered a little and lived for another year. He died in his 80th year, April, 1822."

Prior Burgess's first quadriennium was wholly successful; the school was increased, the Refectory block was erected, and the finances were sound. He was re-elected at the Chapter of 1822. When Bishop Baines communicated his schemes and hopes to his old brethren of St. Lawrence's—to the chosen few—he found them disposed to listen to him. He put himself in private communication with the President Dr. Marsh, the Prior Fr. Burgess, the Provincial Fr. Gregory Robinson, and Fr. Vincent Glover—four College associates of his, but selected, most probably, because they were the four ablest and most influential Laurentians then living. Indeed, they were so manifestly the leaders that, if united in the same policy, the whole

* He wished to introduce strict silence in the monks' Refectory, and some reading at all the meals, except breakfast, which was to be taken standing, in order to show that it was not a Constitutional meal. Prior Burgess threatened resignation if these reforms were pressed.

Ampleforth familia—not excepting ‘honest John’ Molyneux, as he was called, then a somewhat surly independent—would have followed them with blind confidence. And they were won over: Dr. Marsh against his better judgment; Provincial Robinson with some consciousness that it was a risky business; Vincent Glover devotedly and impetuously; Prior Burgess, with the idea that an Episcopal President would remove the personal difficulties which beset him. There is no doubt they were ready to exchange Ampleforth for Downside—with proper compensation made for the difference of value in the estates—if Downside would consent to it. Dr. Baines was then so much the bright particular star of all Laurentians, that they forgot old differences and mistrust, and enrolled themselves among his earnest partisans. But the attitude of Prior Barber and the Gregorians made the scheme, in its actual shape, hopeless.

The scheme was faulty enough, and, if one may judge from the correspondence, but superficially considered by its promoters; but there was nothing unmonastic about it. A Benedictine diocese, with a Benedictine Bishop, a Benedictine Seminary, and monks to serve its chief missions was not a new idea nor an impracticable one. But such a scheme needed thought and arrangement, safeguards against caprice, rules and recognized rights; it would hardly have been wise of our Fathers to throw one-half of the English Congregation into Bishop Baines’ hands to do as he liked with. The bishop would own no obedience to President or Chapter or Constitutions; and the allegiance of the monks themselves to the Congregation could be nothing more than nominal. And then, what was to become of Downside?

The secret proposals were well kept, and it was, we may think, most fortunate for the Congregation that it should have so happened. An appeal from Dr. Baines to Benedictine and Laurentian loyalty at this early date might

easily have carried the day. But at the Chapter of 1826, when the Bishop petitioned for a seat among his brethren, a letter read by Prior Barber unfolding the plot, and the strong opposition of Dr. Marsh who was still President and had forsaken the Bishop's party, turned the scale against him, so that he was refused admittance.* From this moment he sought to advance his schemes by different and less friendly methods. We must accept unreservedly the Bishop's statement at this period of the controversy: "I solemnly declare that I intend this proposal to benefit the Benedictine Body, not to injure it; and that I conscientiously believed that the measure would, if carried into effect, be highly advantageous both to the Benedictine Monks and to the Western District." But after Downside had refused his overtures, he wrote of "the infatuation of our Downside Brethren," and added: "They are not, I should think, aware how strenuous and efficient my opposition to them will be, if they drive me to it. If it must come to a trial of strength one or the other party shall go down" (Letter to Prior Burgess, March 12th, 1824).

This same year, 1826, Dr. Baines became seriously ill and went to Rome in quest of rest and health. He remained there till the spring of 1829 when Bishop Collingridge died. Then he hastened back to take up the government of the Western District, quite renewed in strength, and having won over Cardinal Cappellari, the Prefect of the Propaganda, a Benedictine, afterwards Pope Gregory XVI, to his scheme. The learned Cardinal seems to have been impressed mainly by the Bishop's assertion that St. Gregory's was not only of no service to the Western Dis-

* Dr. Baines wrote afterwards: "I expected to have been invited to Chapter as by a standing order of the Body all my Benedictine predecessors in the Episcopacy have been." At the previous Chapter of 1822, Dr. Baines was himself one of those who set aside this "standing order," if there had been any such, and refused admission to Bishop Slater. He, Baines, sat in the Chapter as deputy for Fr. Anselm Lorymer, Cathedral Prior of Durham.

trict but a disadvantage, since it diverted to itself "the alms of the Faithful and the pensions of the Alumni" which otherwise would have come into the hands of the Bishop. In reporting the conversation to Prior Burgess, Dr. Baines writes: "I replied (to the Cardinal) that though at present then I shall abandon also this project, yet I now declare to your Eminence, that should I live to become Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, I shall not have been so one month before your Eminence receives from me a petition to this effect (that St. Gregory's be handed over to the Bishop), not in the private manner in which necessity now compels me to act, but openly and in the face of all the parties concerned. And if you do so (replied the Cardinal with great energy) and I am alive, the Petition shall be granted.—But Ampleforth is then given up. By no means—When the Gentlemen of Downside hear that they are to serve no Missions but those of the Western District, and that only with my permission, they will accept the alternative allowed them and gladly change you situations, if you like." (Letter of June 9th, 1827.)

Meanwhile, Prior Burgess had fallen out with the President and the Congregation and was ready to jump at anything which offered him a prospect of change. The Chapter of 1826 had decided against him in certain cases of dispute between himself and the President, and between himself and one of the youngest members of his Community. He was so disappointed that he was even of a mind to refuse acceptance of the Priorship. Upon this Dr. Baines wrote to him (July 20th, 1826): "You must absolutely accept the Office of Prior. You can resign on any future occasion, should occasion call for the measure. By refusing the Office now you complete the triumph of the opposite party and do more against your own cause than they have done by all their resources." A pitiful reason for undertaking so sacred a trust as the government of a religious house! Better for all concerned if he had followed his own

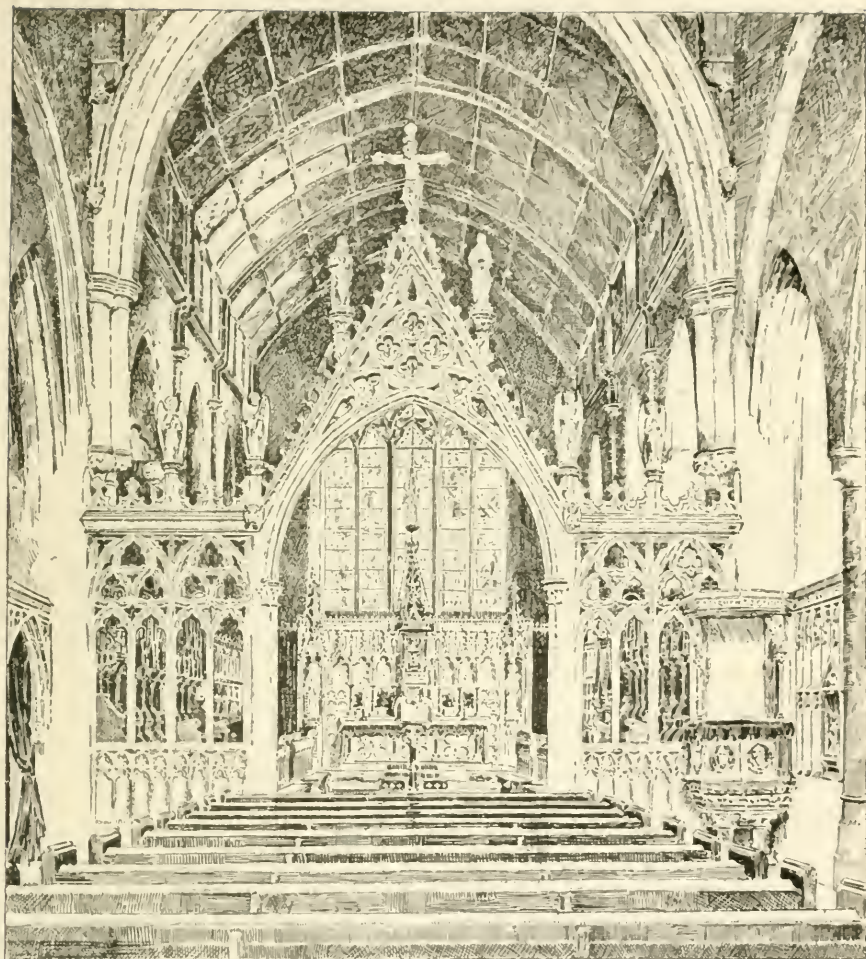
right instinct. He was even then committed to a conspiracy against the Congregation of which he was a sworn official, and which he was clearly conscious, as his letters show, might endanger the very existence of the house to whose interests he had vowed fidelity. He was, admittedly, a conscientious man as far as he understood his obligations. He refused to sign a petition to the Holy See alienating St. Lawrence's to the absolute jurisdiction of Bishop Baines, because of his oath *de non alienando*. But he was ready, all the same, actually to hand it over, and to discuss and organize schemes to enable him to do so. He even arranged to send his Subprior, Rooker, to Rome, in order to forward the petition which he himself would not sign. It was a curious state of mind to be in, but he had put himself in a curious position.

All the while, the peace of the Community was undisturbed. They were induced to offer their formal sympathy to the Bishop when he was excluded from Chapter, but they had only the vaguest notion of the case between him and the brethren at Downside. They were less in the confidence of their Prior than ever. Only two, the Sub-prior Fr. Rooker, and the Procurator Fr. Placid Metcalfe, knew anything of what was going on. A year or two after the Chapter, Provincial Robinson and Fr. Vincent Glover deserted Baines' cause and, like most ex-partisans, became his most strenuous opponents. It was then that Dr. Baines played his trump card, contending that the Congregation had no legal standing, and that the vows of its monks taken in England were invalid.

This contention was based upon the want of the requisite authorization of the Holy see, and the formal approval of the Ordinary, in the re-establishment of the English monasteries after the French Revolution. As a matter of fact, President Marsh had obtained the authorization of the Holy See; but no document or documents could be produced showing the formal approbation of the Ordinaries; all that the Bene-

dictine Superiors could assert was tacit recognition for a length of years and a formal implied recognition in such acts as Episcopal Ordinations and Visits. Bishop Baines believed these to be insufficient; the authorities in Rome decided to give no definite ruling on the point. The reason for this seems to have been that there was at least one other inchoate monastic resuscitation under discussion at the same time, and the Sacred Congregation did not wish to commit itself to a hurried decision. There is no doubt that at first the Roman leaning was towards Bishop Baines' opinion—Cardinal Cappellari received Dr. Marsh, one of the Benedictine advocates sent to Rome, with the greeting "*Gaudeo te iterum videre Romæ, sed doleo de causa*"—but afterwards it showed itself strongly in favour of the Benedictines. Dr. Wiseman, so Bishop Baines says, suggested the compromise which was finally arrived at. A decree was issued granting a *sanatio*, which made good any deficiencies in the vows of the monks—if any such existed—and confirmed Pope Pius VIIIth's decree of canonical establishment; but, at the same time, an Indult of Secularization was given to Prior Burgess, Fr. Rooker, Fr. Metcalfe and Fr. Jerome Brindle. It is only fair to state that Dr. Burgess afterwards declared he had not petitioned for secularization. But it is unfair, as the Rev. Thomas Abbot has done, to presume that the form the indult took was the result of some underhand work in Rome by President Birdsall and Dr. Brown. Bishop Baines' letters throughout show that he obtained only what he had desired, both in the answer to this first petition and to the succeeding one for the secularization of himself and Fr. Augustine Clifford.* In March 1829, Bishop Baines wrote to Prior Burgess: "If you would have my advice (concerning the disputed vows) which I shall now give you without reserve—Do not become Monks—make no new profession—but place yourselves upon a footing that

* It should be said that Fr. Clifford afterwards withdrew his petition.



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shall enable you to go on in harmony with the Bishop and not at variance with the government." However, it is quite certain that the indult was granted by Rome in the belief that it was giving what was asked for, and in direct answer to a petition from the four monks forwarded by Bishop Baines. Moreover, it was accepted by them without demur,

We now come to the catastrophe which has been known to Amplefordians as the "break-up." Bishop Baines, having failed in his designs on Downside, purchased the house and estate of Prior Park for his proposed seminary. But he looked to Ampleforth for help to set it going. He wanted professors, boys, servants, and many other things. The monks could, and he determined they should, furnish them. He knew that, because of the Downside affair,* they were not now friendly with him, but he had confidence he could win them to himself if opportunity were given him. They were only boys, the most of them; not yet ordained priests. How could they resist his influence and eloquence, his arguments and promises, his appeal to their generosity and enthusiasm? He spent three months at Ampleforth to win them over, and was so successful that only one junior, Br. Gregory Flinn, was proof against his blandishments. Then he returned to Prior Park to make ready for the expected and arranged exodus from the North.

Over the details of the dismemberment and mutilation of St. Lawrence's to make a beginning of Prior Park, it is best, perhaps, to draw a veil. It is sufficient to say that Prior Burgess, the Sub-prior Rooker, and the Procurator Metcalfe went off, taking with them confessedly† every-

* A detailed narrative of this episode will be found in Fr. Norbert Birt's *History of Downside School*.

† That this expression is fully justified, the following passage from a letter of Bishop Baines, dated April 14th, 1830, should be enough to satisfy the reader, without unpleasant reference to what actually took place: "I hope you will also claim a proper compensation for the services you have

thing their consciences permitted them to lay their hands on. With them went the novices,* who had been persuaded to put off the habit—one of them, Br. Augustine Lowe, held back at the last moment—and the cream of the school, some thirty boys, most of them of distinguished families. The housekeeper was taken and also a herd of cattle to stock the farm—a sum of £797 2s. was allowed for these latter in the settlement—and all was pre-arranged without so much as saying By your leave. It is not too much to say that no consideration was shown for Ampleforth in anything that was done. And to all the arrangements the President and the Laurentians were forced to give their consent—it was given reluctantly, and Provincial Robinson refused to sign the Statement of Accounts—before Dr. Burgess and his two companions would relinquish the Ampleforth property and sign the power of attorney which enabled their successors to remove their names from the title-deeds. So much may be said, and is said, without impugning the good faith of Bishop Baines and Dr. Burgess in what they did. It is admitted, and should be admitted, that many of the accusations made against them at the time were prejudiced and unjust, founded on erroneous beliefs and mistaken evidence.

rendered the Body individually. Also that you will look to such Books and other articles, *que propria industria acquisistis*, I mean both you and Rooker. (This has reference chiefly to books purchased for the Library out of the Brandsby Mission endowment. Fr. Rooker was the Brandsby missionary; and Dr. Baines is very insistent in his letters to him that he should claim as a personality the money the Cholmeley family paid to the College, or anything purchased with it.) If this is not allowed—and it should be something handsome—I trust you will not sign over any right you have to property held in your names. Above all, don't let yourselves be carried away by what your two visitants will talk about *honour*, the *opinion of the public*, your obligations to the Body, &c., &c. They will both laugh at you if they find you weak enough to be overcome by them."

* The young Religious who had made their profession were not convinced that they had the right to refuse acceptance of the *Sanatio*, and finally they all remained true to their vows.

At the same time, no Laurentian can recall the proceedings of Bishop Baines without condemning his three months stay at Ampleforth as a misuse of his position and a breach of hospitality. Neither can the proceedings of Prior Burgess in breaking up the noviciate and leading away the students be viewed as anything less than a betrayal of his trust. Tempers were hot just then, but surely it was unworthy of a bishop to write of the College he was even then dismantling to serve his own ends (April 14th, 1830): "Mr. Birdsall says in his letter to Mr. Cooper (as I understand) that 'Ampleforth shall prosper.' Pompey said something similar, and in my opinion just about as wise." It is always difficult to think kindly of those whom one has injured.

It was in the middle of May 1830 that the migration from Ampleforth took place. Fr. Vincent Glover was sent into the house by the President, and remained in charge* until the General Chapter of the same year. He had an unpleasant and difficult task, and he was neither wise, successful nor amiable in the doing of it. It was many years before the College recovered from the hurt which had been done to it by its friends. But it did prosper, in spite of Dr. Baines' classical augury.

A word as to Bishop Baines' supposed project of a Catholic University, and Dr. Burgess' so-called Benedictine reform. Both of them are modern myths, which may or may not have grown out of some high-flown expressions made use of after the establishment of Prior Park.†

* Fr. Towers was elected Prior but stayed away.

† The origin of the University College notion may have arisen out of a scheme which Dr. Baines had in his mind, for at least a month or so, of establishing a College for English gentlemen at Rome. He mooted it for the first time in a letter to Prior Burgess, dated April 14th, 1830. He wrote of it as intended to give the benefits of a University education. He intended to connect it in some sort of way with the *Sapienza*. Dr. Rooker was to be in charge of it. In a later letter he again refers to it. About half a dozen students were all he seems to have hoped for, though he was full of enthusiasm about his *University project*. The references in his letters to his university have no connexion with Prior Park.

Nearly the whole of the voluminous correspondence between Baines and Burgess and their confidants is in existence, and from this it is abundantly clear that, up to the break-up at Ampleforth, no more lofty conception than the erection of a Diocesan Seminary or Secular College, and the satisfaction of the needs of the Western District, had a place in his Lordship's mind. As for the reform of the English Benedictines, Dr. Burgess does make allusions to the need of it, but the reform he believed pertinent and desirable was the very unmonastic one that the monks should be subject to a Bishop as President, who should have the appointment of officials and the general management of the Order. The truth is he wished to escape from the control of the President and General Chapter. He believed that under a Bishop the officials would be more permanent—at least in such a case as his own;—a belief which was rudely upset when he went to Prior Park. On the other hand, he was opposed to such monastic observance as silence and reading in the Refectory, the abolition of peculium, and, if one of his own novices is to be believed, he had no great love for the public recitation of the Divine Office. He is only noted as introducing a single reform at Ampleforth: the preferential treatment of the Seniors in the matter of food at meals; the Juniors had to content themselves with commoner stuff. The first council held by Fr. Towers, his successor, put an end to this innovation; and declaring the distinction to be 'odious' it decreed that all should be furnished with the same meat and drink. In fact, if the correspondence between Baines and Burgess and their associates is to be taken as expressing their views, much that has been written in recent times, of which the following passage in Mr. Gillow's biography of Fr. Metcalfe is a specimen, is pure fiction.* "At that period there were many deficiencies and irregularities in the observance of

* Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics. Art. Metcalfe,

the Benedictine Rule with which the three principal superiors, the Prior, H. L. Burgess, the Sub-prior, T. C. Rooker, and the Procurator, Fr. Metcalfe, were much dissatisfied, yet felt the impossibility of reforming at Ampleforth. [Prior Burgess made no complaint of his subjects until and except when they requested him to resign. He wanted to take them all to Prior Park with him. His dissatisfaction was with his Superiors.]. . . . He, Baines, laid before them, with his peculiar fascinating power, his intention of founding a 'University College' at Prior Park to impart a superior education. [There is no hint of such a thing in his confidential letters.] He spoke of the great advantage that would accrue to them if they would, under proper authority, transfer their obedience to him, and establish a reformed Order of St. Benedict in the centre mansion at Prior Park. [He spent much of his time and eloquence at Ampleforth in trying to persuade the monks their vows were invalid.]. . . . They obtained an Indult from Leo XII dated March 13, 1830, to transfer their obedience as Benedictine Monks, to the Vicar Apostolic of the Western District. [This was an unequivocal Indult of Secularization for the four monks, and it was accepted.] Meanwhile Gregory XVI ascended the Pontifical throne. To him a remonstrance was made that the new house would seriously injure Ampleforth and Downside and seeing that Bishop Baines' solicitude was more for the working of his new seminary. . . . Rome without consulting the seceders and contrary to their expressed wish issued a bull of secularization signed by Cardinal Cappellari. [The writer is somewhat confused here and supposes that Pope Gregory XVI (Cappellari) issued a bull signed by Cardinal Cappellari!!]*. . . . Thus disappointed and

* Bishop Smith wrote to Prior Burgess on April 6, 1830: "I have received from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda two Decrees of the Sacred Congregation sanctioned by his Holiness. The one an *Indult of Secularization*, quatenus opus sit, in behalf of yourself, Messrs. Rooker, Metcalfe and

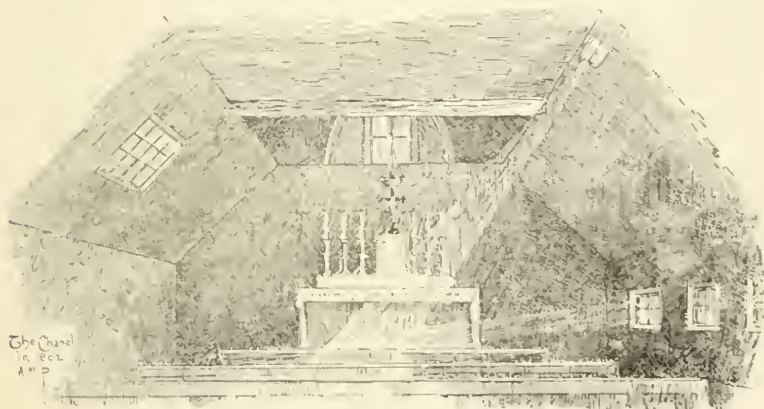
finding that Prior Park was not to be a Benedictine Monastery, Burgess and Metcalfe tendered resignation of their office, &c."

The last sentence is an exquisite flight of imagination. This is the real truth. After only three months at Prior Park, Bishop Baines removed his three associates from their positions at the head of the new Secular College. In August, 1830, Dr. Burgess wrote to Dr. Brindle: "As his Lordship is pleased to withdraw the title he gave me before I quitted my situation as Superior of Ampleforth to join him, I beg to say, I should be unwilling for my name to appear in any public Document, such as the Prospectus, with any title affixed to it inferior to what I have already held before the public." A little later the three ex-monks penned a joint complaint to the Bishop of the way he had treated them. His Lordship assumed a high tone in reply: "I never had the most distant idea that you resigned your situations at Ampleforth and your connection with the Benedictine Body in any particular understanding respecting this Establishment. Facts and dates prove clearly that this could not have been the case; for you had requested the transfer of your obedience before this place was purchased, or it was known that it could be purchased, or that any Establishment of the kind could be erected." This is logical enough, but logic is cold comfort under such circumstances.

The story of this secession from Ampleforth has a pleasing ending. Fr. Metcalfe had hardly left Prior Park when he applied to be received back again among the children of St. Lawrence's. His overtures were not well

Brindle, quo possint operam suam conferre in Institutione et cura Seminarii a R.P.D. Episcopo Sigano erigendi. The other is a Sanatorium quoad praeterita, et confirmatio Rescripti anno 1823. The execution of the former Decree de Secularizatione is committed to me. . . ." The Rescript expressly uses the word "secularization," though the grant is made as usual "servatis tamen substantialibus votorum."

received. He had asked to be taken back on the old footing, and this did not then seem possible on account of the accepted brief of Secularization. It is not well known, but Dr. Rooker admitted it as a fact, that Dr. Burgess also meditated the same step. After his death, a note, found by Dr. Rooker, and acknowledged by him to be in Burgess' handwriting but for whom intended he did not know, has the following passage: "As Dr. Baines now dispenses with me for the object I had in view in leaving Ampleforth, I think I should not be acting up to the public spirit by which I have hitherto wished to guide my conduct, if I did not consult you, whether an administration could not be formed for the government of Alma Mater with which I could act and make myself useful again as Procurator." At the close of his life Fr. Metcalfe a second time turned his face towards his old home in North Yorkshire. His application to be re-admitted at Ampleforth was now favourably received. Indeed he was on his way there, when during an epidemic of typhus at Leeds he undertook temporary work among the infected and died a martyr of charity (28th March, 1847). Laurentians will always be sorry he did not live to be welcomed back again.



CHAPTER XXXI.

A Wave of Depression.

IN unruly circumstances and a general shaking up of things it is generally the strong man, the man of weight, who comes out on the top. This was emphatically not the case at Ampleforth after the crisis of the "break-up." The Community was pleased to choose Fr. Richard Adrian Towers as its Prior. It was a compromise, and it certainly seemed to be a judicious one. Fr. Towers was a friend of Drs. Baines and Burgess and yet had no quarrel with the Benedictine authorities; for this reason he might have been expected to act as a peace-maker. He was clever, with learning above the average—as college professors go; it was reasonable to hope, therefore, that the study and the scholarship for which St. Lawrence's was noted would be sustained if not improved. He was devout and self-denying; religious observance and discipline should be assured. He had an unexpended, perhaps inexhaustible, fund of rude energy; surely, the very one to set Ampleforth again on its feet. But with Prior Towers the one certain thing was the unexpected. With the utmost devotion and abundance of goodwill, he did very nearly everything a man in his position and circumstances ought not to have done. Nevertheless, his Community as a whole did not dislike him, and was accustomed when it was all over to laugh kindly at the eccentricities of his rule. Perhaps a better man would have been more conscious of failure, and would have made his failure more evident and harmful. He may even have

done good by his mistakes. A wound may be cured, sometimes better cured, by the use of the cauterium instead of the plaster. Looking through the records of his four years' priorship, we say, as was said at the time, "Poor Ampleforth;" but of the author of the mischief, we have no harder word than to exclaim—as Dr. Baines wrote when he heard of his election—"Poor Dick."

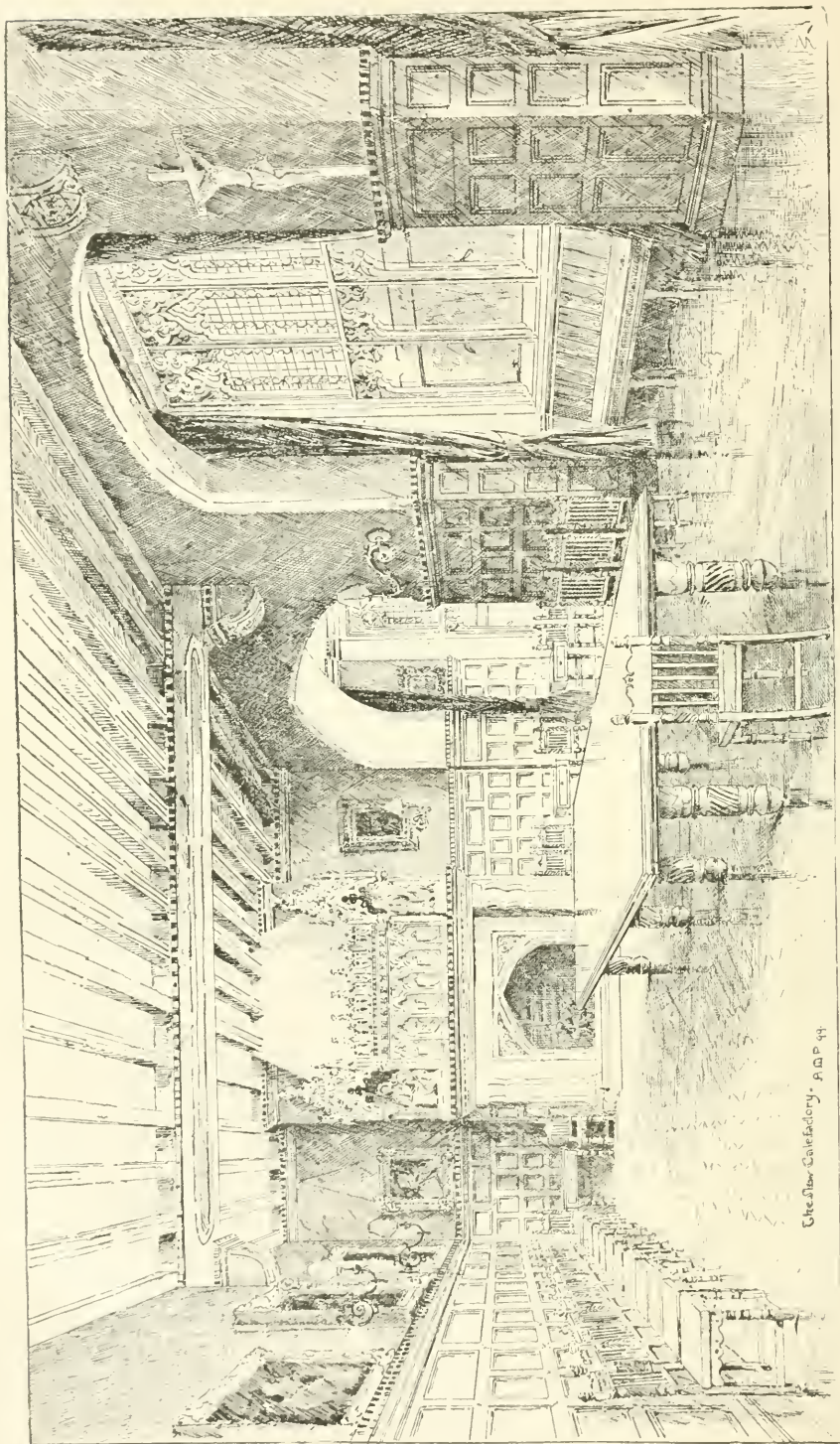
Dr. Burgess claimed that during his Priorship he had done St. Lawrence's a very great service. During the first two quadrienniums he undoubtedly had. Accepting his own figures, which have never been impugned, and taking the funded property of the College (leaving out the value of the College and the home lands, which were not included in the assets as Capital) as our measure of the prosperity of the establishment, the invested capital in 1818, when Prior Burgess really began his management, was, after paying all funded debts, £14,072 3s. 3d., with farm stock valued at £117 10s. This in 1822, at the end of his first four years' rule, amounted to £14,034 6s. 3d., with stock valued at £538 17s.; an increase of value, wholly in farm stock, of £383 10s. After the second quadriennium in 1826, there was a further improvement. The value of the invested property was less, £13,535 7s. 5d., but the farm stock was now valued at £1,067 18s. showing a further capital increase of £30 2s. 2d.—The reader, of course, will notice the attention given to farming operations on the little land round the College, and how the capital of the house is diminishing as the farm stock increases.—In each of these years Prior Burgess had saved something out of his income, and against such capital as fell in during the eight years (Dr. Brewer's and Fr. Calderbank's considerable patrimonies are included in the capital Prior Burgess began with) may be set improvements in the buildings and a small purchase of land. But, according to his own figures, as laid before the Commissioners in 1830—though not according to his

assertions—the final quadriennium was a disastrous one. He sold out stock and property to purchase the farms, less than 200 acres altogether, at Byland.* The total cost was £11,550. Taking this full cost price—it was a dear purchase—as the capital value of the investment, and adding it to the funded property, the College assets in 1830 were £15,892 7s. 11d. But against this has to be reckoned a mortgage of £6,000 which Burgess raised on the Byland estate. Moreover, he left debts, paid by his successors, amounting to £2,005 2s. 8d. He also borrowed other monies to the extent of £1,370. So that during this quadriennium the invested property of the College dwindled from £13,535 7s. 5d. to £6,517 5s. 3d. As a set off, the farm stock was now valued at the surprising sum of £5,333 6s. 6d.† It was only worth £1,067 18s., four years before. Both valuations were made under similar conditions except the addition of the Byland farm.

Accepting Prior Burgess' farm estimate at the full, and admitting a capital expenditure on the College buildings

* Prior Burgess' account of the Byland purchase, in a letter to Bishop Baines, dated May 16, 1827, is as follows: "One thing we have done which I hope will be of service. Lady Harland of Sutton is dead, and her property about Byland is on sale. We have purchased two farms of the best land containing about 131 acres adjoining to the old ruins. To pay for this we shall have to sell the farm at Preston, left by Dr. Brewer to Messrs. Marsh, Talbot and Cooper, and also the French funds in the same names. By this means we shall secure a considerable part of our property in our own names, which may cause them to be more civil and prevent their hindering us much in our plans, and should we be obliged to leave, we may take with us surely as much as we have cleared to the house by our labours. Till we get these transfers made it is desirable to raise no cause of suspicion to prevent the measure, and on this account also Mr. Rooker had better not set off yet."—It had been arranged for Dr. Rooker personally to present a petition in the name of the Ampleforth Superiors to the Holy See.

† The actual valuation was £6130 8s. 6d., but from this must be deducted the value of the beasts driven to Prior Park, £797 2s. If this were not done Prior Burgess' debts must be increased by the £797 2s. The value of the cattle was reckoned to cancel a portion of the money claimed by Baines and Burgess to be owing to them.



of £1500—there was nothing to show for it, but a lot of money can be dribbled away in patchwork—there is still some loss of capital to be explained. But the farm valuation is certainly misleading; every stick and straw is priced to swell the amount. If the older valuation had been made in the same style, Prior Burgess would have had a much larger capital to account for. Fr. Allanson could not, even by stretching a point, make the true value up to half the stated amount. However, there is a very simple answer to the question why Prior Burgess had to introduce a new scheme of farm valuation to make things look straight. The much vaunted agricultural experiments of Messrs. Burgess and Metcalfe had been a failure. This was to be expected. Monastic farming is nearly always a very costly luxury. As far as one can judge from the figures, the Byland estate had not succeeded in paying the annual interest on the mortgage up to the time Burgess left. If he and his procurator had gone on for another quadriennium, the loss would probably have been doubled. The farm could never have repaid the outlay made on it. We must suppose, if we accept Burgess' figures, that besides the purchase money, more than four thousand pounds had been *actually spent* on stock, tillage, and implements at Byland. In fact, assuming that the purchase money (£11,550) and the additional stock (£4,265 8s. 6d.)* represent capital sunk in the Byland farms, they would have to furnish a clear profit of £790 a year to pay an interest of five per cent. on the outlay.

It should be clear from this that Dr. Burgess had ruined the capital account of the College. If he had not played ducks and drakes with the money, he had done quite as bad: he had played with prize cattle. The valuation of farm-stock was probably a gross exaggeration; it was revalued at Fr. Towers' instance, and the stock and belongings on

* From the £6130 8s. 6d. are subtracted £707 2s., the cattle sold to Bishop Baines, and £1067 18s., the value of farm stock at the previous Chapter.

the combined farms were judged to be worth no more than £1,652. They did not prove of any higher value in the result. But this was set down to the Prior's incapacity. There was a ridiculous story spread about, that he once exchanged a short-horn for a Newfoundland dog. He may have done so, but it is not likely. He was not a fool. Moreover, if he had exchanged all the short-horns for Newfoundlands, it would not have accounted for the difference of the estimates. No doubt he was imposed upon. It is quite possible that neither he, nor Fr. Hampson his procurator, nor both of them together, could, with their best endeavours, have made a farm pay. But he did what he could, and there is no certainty that Messrs. Burgess and Metcalfe would have done better. He was handicapped through the folly of his predecessor—handicapped by the loss of capital, handicapped by the swollen value put on the farm stock, handicapped by the extravagant profits expected from the Byland purchase, and still more handicapped by having to act as a farmer when he came to act as a Prior. Fr. Towers was handicapped also in succeeding to a greatly diminished school and a reduced staff. Fr. Augustine Clifford came into the house, and Fr. Ullathorne (afterwards Bishop) and Fr. Sinnott were sent by the President from Downside to remedy the latter evil. At the Prior Park exodus the number of students was eighty; it was more than 30 years before that number was reached again. As it turned out, the loss to Ampleforth was not simply thirty or so students for four or five years. It was a source dried up, or rather diverted elsewhere; one that never flowed the same way again. The "break-up" at Ampleforth meant also a loss of caste or prestige. There was a report everywhere that the place was much injured, that its resources were crippled and its management disorganized. Nothing could have done it more harm. Parents might sympathize with the College, and wish it well; but they would only send their sons where they were

most likely to have everything of the best. People do not overlook the deficiencies of a school because of its unmerited misfortunes.

After making all allowances for the difficulties of Prior Towers' position, it must be admitted that his administration was a failure. He received and professed some novices, but the school did not recover itself, and the management both of monastery and college was unworthy of the Ampleforth tradition. There was a rough energy in the house during his administration, and the Prior deserves some credit for it; but the general result was pitiful. He was too changeful in his moods to do justice to his abilities; he was one of those who are everything at times but nothing long. His open air preaching and controversy in the neighbouring villages was praiseworthy in intent, but in intent only; the 'tale of a tub' was only a spasmodic effort affording more amusement to the villagers than edification. Dr. Burgess' friends have ridiculed him for coming into the Refectory with his pocket full of apples and tossing them to the boys during meals. He may have done so on an occasion, and yet have lost very little of their youthful respect in doing it. He was a failure—there are no two words about it; but he was not a buffoon. He was a failure, because with all his efforts at economy money slipped through his hands. He was a failure, because he tried to recoup himself by speculation and only succeeded in losing more. Ampleforth, financially, may be said to have been just then in one of those weak, unhealthy states when it was most likely to succumb to a prevailing epidemic. Such was the "railway fever" as it was called, when Hudson of York, "the Railway King," was in prominence. All but about £1500 of the College funds melted away in Prior Towers' and Fr. Jerom Hampson's financial enterprises.

Let us commemorate here, as a noteworthy event of Fr. Towers' reign, the admission as a lay-brother in March,

1832, of Br. Bennet McEntee :—most loyal, hard-working and useful of servants to his Alma Mater ; model of humility, devotion, obedience and cheerful courage ; a man of great personal strength, iron constitution and tireless energy ; frugal, self-denying, helpful, trustworthy under all and in any circumstances ; the one permanent unofficial ; everybody's right hand man in a dozen administrations, on whom the Prior counted as a help in his care of the College property and the Procurator relied in his efforts at economy ; a lay-prefect among the boys, a foreman among the workmen, a butler in the store-rooms, a nurse in the infirmary ; engineer, barber, brewer, doctor—"old Quack" was the nick-name he loved best :—what boy at Ampleforth during fifty years does not remember the good old lay-brother's personal solicitude for him, his care for everything concerning him, from his sore-throat to his boots and slippers, and who did not know, should he have come to his Alma Mater as a stranger in his manhood, there was always one who would not have forgotten him ? No prefect's edict weighed more with the boys than old Bennet's word. His snuff-box and wonderful false teeth, his playful grimace behind the prefect's back, his laughing face poked in for a moment at the merry meetings, with the unfailing "All a-round my hat," are memories that are almost sacred now that he lies in his grave. "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

Here also we may take note of two famous Provincials of the North Province, Dr. Alban Molyneux and Abbot Allanson. The former has the reputation of having been a rough diamond. He was a strong, stern-faced, stubborn-looking man, and was blunt and uncompromising in his speech ; but, as is so often the case, this outward seeming was only a mask put on to hide an unusually warm and generous nature. His brethren were not at all deceived by it ; they had the fullest trust in 'honest John,' even when, disgusted with the politics and policies of the

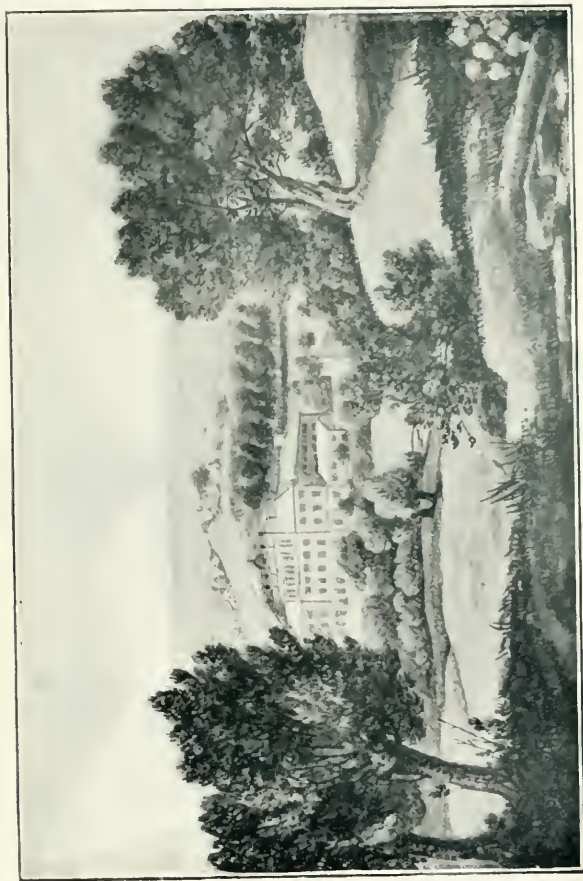
Baines period, he professed to have little confidence in them. He had a contempt for outward show. Tales are still told in Warrington of how he worked in his shirt-sleeves with the bricklayers during the building of St. Alban's, Bewsey Street; how, so thorough was he, that he would not permit a brick to be set in the walls unless it had been dipped in a water-bucket by his own hands; how he was wont to forage for himself in the market-place, and might have been seen wheeling his purchases back to the presbytery in a barrow. He was reckoned somewhat of an eccentric even in the primitive age of Ampleforth history, but there was so complete an absence of affectation about his unusual ways, and they were so clearly the result of his downright character, that they only endeared him both to his brethren and his parish. After Dr. Brewer, the founder of Ampleforth, he was the truest and largest benefactor of St. Lawrence's. He was an able Provincial, who was asked to take up the reins of office in a troubled and difficult time, and displayed to the full the qualities of courage and wisdom which his brethren had expected of him.

Provincial Allanson was a man of a different stamp. He had something of the same old fashioned, wholesome directness of speech. But his tastes were wholly literary. He spent the most of his life at a lonely mission where he lived amongst his books. He worked for some years gathering together materials for a history of the English Reformation period—researches which were ungrudgingly placed at the service of Dr. Lingard in the compilation of his famous history. He wrote much and published nothing. But it is as an historian that he will be known to posterity. For he has left ten huge folio MS. volumes of English Benedictine history: three of a carefully compiled narrative—the History proper—two of Benedictine biographies, and five filled with transcriptions of important documents and letters gathered from all quarters. What

pains he took over his History may be judged from the fact that, fearing he had written a portion of it, in which he himself had been concerned, in a prejudiced spirit, he re-wrote the whole of the third volume.

During his life-time he was best known as the popular and model Provincial of the North Province. He came to be looked upon as born, fitted and fashioned for the difficult post. Use may have made it a second nature to him; certainly a long, successful reign of eighteen years made it difficult for his subjects to believe that any other man could worthily fill his place. Yet his own utterances indicate that he himself was never quite sure he was in his right place as an administrator. It was only the complete trust his brethren gave him that quieted his self-doubtings, and their steadfast belief in him he attributed wholly to his strict and scrupulous observance of Constitutional law. The bold ventures, the masterful decision, and the methodical serenity of his rule were the result not of belief in himself, but of belief in the principles he kept always before him. He was not unemotional; he was not without human prejudice; but he never consciously allowed feeling or bias to disturb the judicial rectitude of his mind. Perhaps, however, his popularity in office depended more than he thought on the return of confidence he made to his brethren. Habitually firm, sometimes even stern, he was always kindly and easily forgiving; he knew human nature well enough to be tolerant of inevitable mistakes and shortcomings. Very much of the wisdom he displayed in his government lay in his not expecting too much from any one—even from himself; in the generous encouragement and help he gave to his younger subjects; and in his frankness and sincerity of speech.

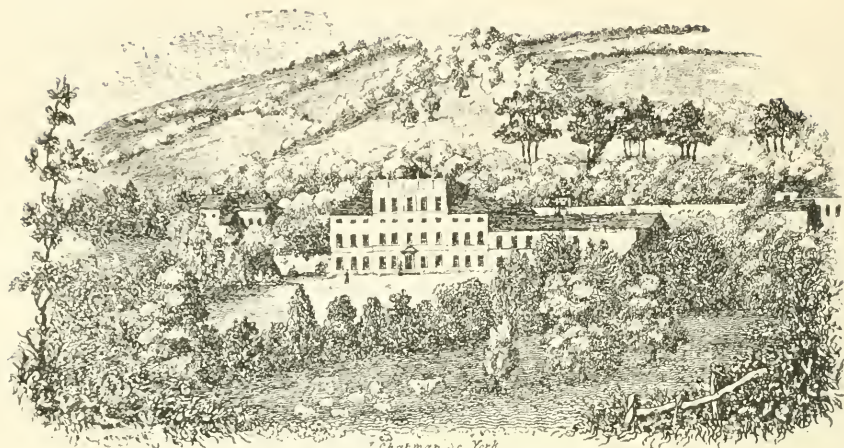
There was a time when his brethren at St. Lawrence's begged him to permit them to elect him as Prior. It was when they were anxious and dispirited after the failure of Fr. Towers' administration. One young priest, Fr.



FROM AN OLD WATERCOLOUR PAINTING.

Margison, then serving Brandsby mission at the week end, rode round by the Wall in Northumberland, on his way back to College, personally to urge Fr. Allanson to come to the relief of his Alma Mater. But his diffidence in himself stood in the way. He did not think himself fitted to rule men. We believe he was wrong in his estimate of his own gifts; we believe he would have been as successful as a Prior as he afterwards was as a Provincial; but we are quite certain that it was not from any fear of difficulty, nor any selfish shrinking from labour, that he disappointed the hopes of his brethren.

Fr. Bede Day succeeded Fr. Towers at the Chapter of 1834. He was chosen because of his carefulness and spirit of economy. He improved the pecuniary affairs of the house a little. But he had a hard time of it. He did not do as well as was expected of him. It was not really his fault; to put the thing bluntly, he had no luck in his administration. There will be many living now who remember him well, for he lived to a great age. Tall, handsome, straight and slender—even in his 79th year—he had a kindly manner, a mournful look in the eyes, and a commanding presence. He was the pink of neatness to the very last. After his death, a stain of ink was noticed on his slender hands as he lay in his coffin. Br. Bennet, who nursed him, as he had nursed others before him and was yet to nurse so many after him, told some of us when we went to see the dead patriarch—he had been the oldest Benedictine living—the characteristic reason of it. He, Bennet, was watching in the sick room, and writing a letter near the sick bed. Called out for a moment, in his hurry he spilt a few drops of ink on the table. When he came back, he found the old man, dying even then, out of his bed trying to clean up the ink which had been spilt. Fr. Day had built the house and chapel at Clayton Green before he became Prior. He was one of the first students at Ampleforth, having gone there in the year '4.



ST. LAWRENCE'S COLLEGE,
AMPLEFORTH near YORK

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Return of Prosperity.

IF Dr. Burgess failed to hand down St. Lawrence's in a prosperous state to his successors, at least he bequeathed to the College a fine disciplinary tradition, and a code of rules which remains practically unchanged to the present day. On each month-day morning (First Thursdays), it was an inviolate custom for the prefect to read these Rules solemnly to the School. Most probably they are a crystallization of still older customs and regulations. But the tradition is that they were drawn up by Dr. Burgess, and at any rate the oldest copy of them in existence is endorsed "Datum Amplefordiæ, Aug. 23rd, 1822, D. Laurentius Burgess, Prior."* They are written in a precise, formal, old-fashioned style, without preface or comment beyond a few brief sentences on correct behaviour

* This copy has on the back of it "Regulations for the School. Maurus Cooper's. A.D. 1822." This probably means no more than that it was Fr. Cooper's copy. He was not a priest then.

and the motives which should actuate the scholar. They have stood the test of time. Generations of students have listened to them with respect and reverence, without the usual school-boy's impatience at an oft-repeated story, or the school-boy's irreverent comment on restrictions he does not like. They have never had a nickname, and no greater praise can be given them than to say they have the tacit *imprimatur* of the many hundred students, who have accepted them as wise and true,—inevitable, unquestionable almost, as the rules of grammar or the axioms of geometry. There are phrases that provoke a smile—a smile as fixed and traditional as the month-day itself; and the announcement, in the list of play-days, of “one day for skating when the ice bears” never failed to be greeted with a laugh which began nearly a century ago. But, for the trustful understanding between masters and boys; the cheeriness and absence of grumbling; the liberal discipline—liberal because so unconstrained and natural, so seldom calling for severity or watchfulness or sternness; the spirit of duty, springing rather from religious motives than from schoolboy honour: qualities—virtues one might even say—which have distinguished the Ampleforth school from the beginning;—for these St. Lawrence's owes much to the wise old rules and to the tradition which has come down to us unbroken, in spite of the catastrophe which in 1830 nearly wrecked the College. It is said that the number of the scholars at one time was reduced to 15—fewer even than there were in 1813; but soon after the accession to the Priorship of Fr. Anselm Cockshoot in 1838, it was evident that Ampleforth was beginning once again to take the high place among Catholic Colleges it had formerly held—not a new Ampleforth with a new spirit, but the old College restored again to soundness and renewed health.

Prior Cockshoot was a man of buoyant temperament,—one of those who act as though they were insured against

misfortune and had taken an accident policy as their 'bond of fate',—one of those who when the corn crop is spoiled can console themselves with the thought of the splendid turnips, and when things are bad can always rub their hands at the prospect of the good time to come. It was an invaluable disposition, and helped him, as a man also of ideas, to have the courage to carry them into practice, and to forget money troubles and other troubles in useful, energetic work. It makes little matter to us in these days whether the ideas were very original, whether they were his own or only adopted by him, whether some of them were even eccentric and trivial: the main result was an atmosphere, at Ampleforth, of enlarged views and ambitions, of cheerful self-reliance and of eager industry.

First in importance of these useful ideas was the bringing into the Council, as financial advisers, of Dr. Molyneux, Fr. Anselm Brewer and Fr. Athanasius Allanson,—an arrangement which was thought unconstitutional, but which resulted in the practical liberation of the monastery from its most serious pecuniary embarrassments—and this, in spite of the fact that the Prior believed himself never during any year to have lived within his income; * indeed, at the end of the eight years of his reign, the house was nearly in the position in which Dr. Burgess should have left it. The second of Prior Cockshoot's innovations was the introduction of a Professor of Theology from Monte Cassino, Dom Gregorio,† and the bolder measure of sending two young Laurentian priests, Fr. Austin Bury (Abbot Bury, still living) and Fr. Lawrence Shepherd, to Parma for an extended course of Philosophy and Theology. A third praiseworthy idea was the planting of trees—the work mostly of the young Religious, among whom Fr.

* In reality he had a surplus income, but included many small capital payments in his ordinary expenditure.

† The first name proposed and accepted by the Council was that of Dom Honorato Garoni.

Bury and afterwards Fr. Wilfrid Brown deserve special praise for their industry, judgment and perseverance—an undertaking conceived on a liberal scale, and which has romanticized the somewhat bare and featureless appearance of the hills around the College. Minor introductions, all useful and showing a spirit of enterprise, were the engagements of a classical master, a Sergeant (Beadnell) and a cricket professional (Lockwood)—the last surely an unexpected forerunner of modern collegiate improvements. Prior Cockshoot made no change in the home buildings, but he rebuilt the inn at Byland; and, through the generosity of Dr. Molyneux, he paid off half the Byland mortgage, besides purchasing the freehold of some property rented by the College,—a portion of which was the old Manor House, known for many years as the Catholic village school.

The results of Prior Cockshoot's intelligence and energy were not apparent in his own day. He had not the satisfaction of reaping the harvest he had sown. Indeed, he himself hardly knew how successful he had been. He was, and is, spoken of and remembered as a worthy, holy and able man; but no halo of admiration or enthusiasm has gathered around his name. With those who had lived with him as young men and schoolboys it was the trifling peculiarities of his manner and character that were recalled, rather than what he had done. But he had the satisfaction of receiving from Dr. Molyneux, then Provincial, a letter expressing his 'gratification' at the 'state of things so different from what existed at last Chapter,' the 'present prosperity' which he, in his frequent visits, had witnessed. He had the satisfaction to find the school grow in numbers to more than fifty, and to see a higher standard of work, discipline, and schoolboy comfort, aimed at and attained. He had the satisfaction of receiving enthusiastic letters from Abbate Bianchi at Parma concerning the two students there, and to believe that his wise act would bring

Ampleforth a future eminence in Ecclesiastical learning. But the money difficulty was like a snake which was scotch'd and not killed; the plantations on the hill-sides had yet to convince people of their future usefulness and decorative beauty; the young men who had begun their training under him had yet to show their worth, and by their piety, intellectual vigour, manliness and enterprise prove the excellence of the tone and spirit Prior Cockshoot had introduced both into the College and Monastery.

The quadriennium which immediately followed, when Fr. Ambrose Prest, a man of distinguished ability, but of cautious and anxious temperament, was "the hope of government," may be best described as a period of gestation before the birth, or as a settling of the foundations before the raising of the walls,—when the resources of the College were carefully nursed, when the thews were strengthened, the muscles hardened, the courage tried, the gifts ripened, the characters tempered and disciplined, of the younger men who, in the succeeding priorship, were to build up the fortunes of St. Lawrence's, and make it the Ampleforth which is now known to Catholic England.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A Goodly Heritage.

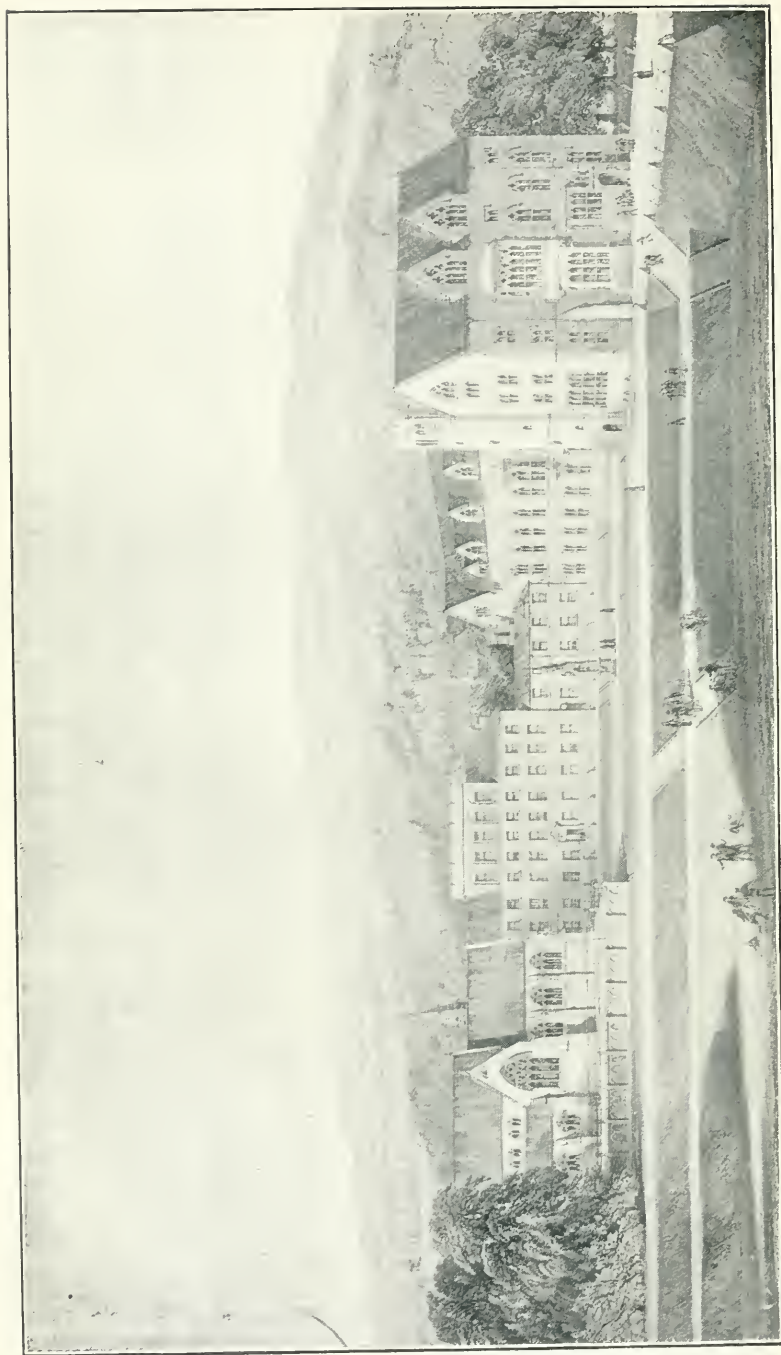
IT IS impossible to decide just where maturity ends and decay begins ; so much so that what is ripeness to one taste may be an early degree of rottenness to another. Ampleforth at the beginning of Prior Cooper's reign had just reached that stage when to those of the older generation it was reckoned as mature—not matchless or perfect, but rounded, sound and complete ; while to those of the younger generation it was just beginning to be old-faced and old-fashioned. There was a full measure of ancient comfort without any spare room for modern angularity and growth. But growth is not only the measure, it is a necessity of healthy life. Check expansion and vitality suffers ; repress it altogether and the principle of corruption begins to assume the mastery. It was a goodly heritage which the older generation had handed over to younger care—a sufficient building, an excellent school, a surplus income ; but nothing can remain stationary without incurring the penalty of staleness,—not even the British Constitution, much less a modern English college. So the younger generation wisely decided to expand, develop, and to build.

Prior Cooper had been Prefect of the School in the days of his youth—taking the last word in its strictest sense, since he had barely attained his majority when he accepted the responsibility. Young as he was, however, he had left behind him a reputation for dignity, good sense, and good government, when in 1844, the year after his ordination, he went on to the mission. It was the memory of his

ability and success as Prefect which caused him to be recalled as Prior in 1850. He was then, after a five years' Prefectship and five years on the mission, only 31 years of age. Young as he was, his Community was greatly younger than himself.

Yet the 'prentiss han', which, in the second year, 1851, widened the 'clock passage' as it is called, and added class-rooms to the old study-room overhead, was not that of a bungler. The work was slight and inexpensive, but it was well thought out and quite well enough done. It was distinctly the next best thing to pulling the east block down altogether, and rebuilding it on a better scale in a newer style. The second piece of work which the young Prior and his Community took in hand was so greatly in advance of all that had been attempted or imagined that it almost deserves the name of an invention or discovery. This was the present, still handsome and useful, Gothic Church.

A few months before Fr. Ambrose Prest surrendered the Priorship, an arrangement had been made with the Swale family of Heslington, Yorks (connected with Ampleforth from its earliest days), by which, in return for certain Great Northern scrip paid into the College funds, a son, William Swale, should be clothed, fed and lodged for the remainder of his natural life. William died in October 1853, and his brothers Joseph and Thomas Swale at once petitioned the Council of the house to set the Swale money aside as a building-fund for a new church. The Council very gladly gave their assent; and forthwith procured from the President and Regimen a written permission for the erection of a church, as soon as the fund thus begun "should amount to the sum required by the Contractor to complete the Edifice, i.e., that the Building be drop dry and plastered, and the flooring laid." A year's discussion of plans and estimates, styles and positions; a quest of subscriptions among friends; then the Council believed itself warranted



AMPLEFORTH MONASTERY AND COLLEGE IN 1863.

(From a Chromolithograph).

in asking the President's required permission to commence the work. There were in hand £1,320 from the Swale fund, £161 from subscribers, and promises of one kind or another for another £1,000. The contract was for £3,000, but if the little steeple were omitted for the present, there was a sufficiency of money, on paper, with a little to spare. The good Fr. President Molyneux, however, whose ardour was not so youthful though his love for his Alma Mater was equally fervid, did not see his way to give permission to begin. He was too old to reckon promises as cash. Authority to build was eventually obtained from the new President, Dr Burchall, in 1855, and the work was then taken in hand.

In 1852, on the Feast of St. Wilfrid, the Golden Jubilee of the College had been kept, a celebration chiefly distinguished for the discourses spoken on the occasion—one by a young monk, Br. Aidan Hickey, afterwards Abbot and Provincial of the North Province, is still remembered. But the great event of the middle years of the century was the festival of the Opening of the New Church. The celebration had been arranged to coincide with the Exhibition of 1857, and the double event brought together the most distinguished gathering of monks and prelates modern England had yet seen. Some who were present have spoken of it as the most interesting and impressive occasion of their lives. One can believe it. With them it was first and therefore best. But a report of it would not excite enthusiasm nowadays, when people are accustomed to show-gatherings on a far larger and more brilliant scale.

As for the Church itself, so greatly lauded and loved, it is still pleasing and beautiful—quite beautiful enough for anyone who has seen it to understand the delight our forefathers had in it, even in its bare, half-furnished beginning. It is in Gothic of the simplest, but the lines are all of them graceful. The walls are thin; there is no depth, mass or

intricacy; one hardly feels that it is built of stone; but it is not in any way jejune or ignorant. On the contrary it is an admirable example of the most and best made of slender means and materials. The devotion of later years has encrusted it internally with rich and elaborate accessories. It is certainly inadequate to the wants of the present day, but it is not yet, nor will it ever be, inadequate as a house of God. It has a beauty of its own—a saintly beauty, as of a shrine hung about with costly offerings,—a treasury of loving gifts.

The designer of the church was Mr. Charles Hansom; the architect of the altars, fittings and elaborations was Mr. Joseph Hansom his brother; both of these excellent men greatly enhanced their reputation by the Ampleforth church. With the latter, especially, the work was something more than a mere commercial transaction; it was a labour of worship and love.

Without making any trite references to the fascination of building, it may be remarked that, during Prior Cooper's term of office, the trowel was never afterwards laid aside. Times were prosperous and work cheap. An excellent quarry had been opened on the hill side. The village could supply reasonably good masons. Carpenters and a blacksmith were kept on the premises. Before the new church was completed, it was already agreed to add on the *Statio*, Entrance Hall, Procurator's room, and Guest-house—the present Hall is made up of the old entrance and the Procurator's room—also a water-tower, a bakehouse, an engine-room, and some kitchen improvements. Not very long afterwards it was determined to undertake the erection of a new College.

This was a far greater effort than the new church, and was very badly needed, according to the modern notion of school requirements. Though the number of students was not greater than it had been—for a short period—in Prior Burgess' time and the accommodation was somewhat

improved, neither the dormitories, lavatories, playrooms, nor study-rooms, were suggestive of a liberal education. The beds in the dormitories were nearly as tightly packed as the bunks on board a ship; the wash-house was no very decided advance on the primitive pump in the kitchen yard; the study was somewhat larger than a class-room and smaller than a lecture-hall; the class-rooms may be described as of cabinet size. How eighty boys settled down all together—if they ever did arrive at the point of quiescence—in the old play-room is one of those things the present schoolboy would find it difficult to comprehend. A modern Board of Education would have condemned the limited cubic space as improper and unhealthy, and it would have censured the school apparatus as woefully inadequate. The modern mother would have hesitated to subject her delicate children to such roughing it, as people would deem the school-life now. But the fact is the boys were unusually contented and happy; sickness was unknown; and the standard of scholarship was high—higher in some respects than it has ever been since. The ungrateful schoolboy is not in anything more ungrateful than in the wayward return he makes for the money and trouble spent over him. He is responsive to culture, but only up to a point. He is almost sure to disappoint people in the use he makes of his advantages, whilst he may generally be trusted to turn disadvantages to account, or to thrive in despite of them.

The generosity of Br. Jerome Watmough who, though *peculium* was still permitted among the English Benedictines, surrendered his patrimony wholly and absolutely to the use of Superiors, made it possible for Prior Cooper to undertake the building of the College without delay. In the spring of 1859 it was decided to begin preparations. Not much time was wasted in preliminaries. Mr. Joseph Hansom prepared the plans at once, and Mr. Simpson of York, the builder of the church, contracted for the newer

venture also. It was originally intended to spend £6,000, but a more extensive plan was finally adopted which cost more than double the money. The edifice was finished and in complete use in 1861. It was and is an excellent building. Up-to-date would hardly express the popular verdict on the work at the time it was completed. It was said to be worthy of Oxford or Cambridge. This was an exaggeration, but its unquestionable merit may be fairly judged by the fact that, even in these days of luxury, there are few collegiate buildings where the students are more comfortably housed. The great dormitory is still one of the best of its kind. The study-room is a true College Hall which will never have cause to be ashamed of the title. The senior library may safely challenge comparison with any of its more modern rivals. Lower library, play-rooms and other accommodation are still rated in the first class. There is a stone tower built as a fire-escape. Architecturally, like the new church, though the lines are graceful and the details excellent, the building looks somewhat thin and slender,—an appearance due to the absence of any redundancy either of material or ornament. But there is no sense of insufficiency or bareness; there is just the impression of a wise economy and simplicity. Though there are few details of ornament that catch the eye and attract notice to themselves, and no subtleties of structure, as in so many buildings of useful and simple but carefully-considered design, the effect is not only graceful but decorative.

Several generations of monks and boys have now had good cause to bless Prior Cooper and his energetic monks for the goodly heritage they handed down to their successors. They did an excellent work, for the reason that they were an exceptional body of able and good men. Many of them are living yet and it is difficult to write of them, even to praise them, except in general terms. They are now the Fathers of the familia, honoured and respected by



THE RIGHT REV. J. C. HEDLEY, D.D., O.S.B.
Bishop of Newport.

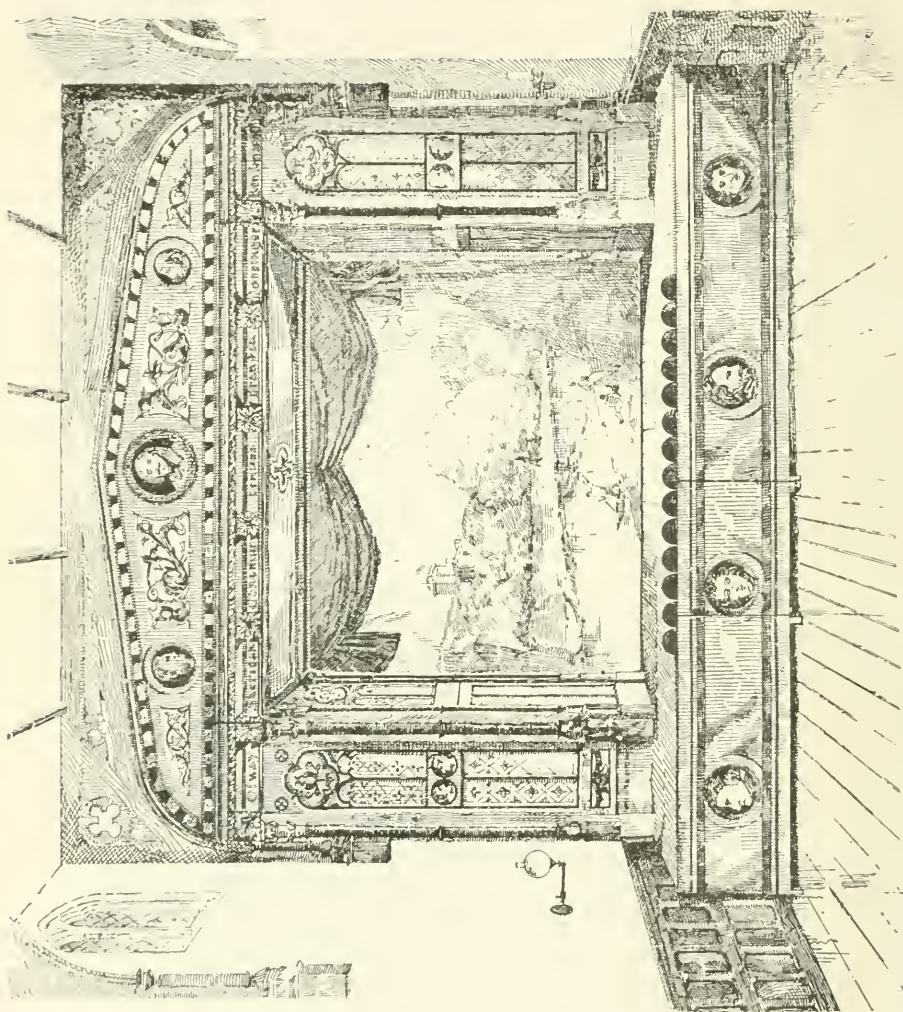
their children—many of them with distinguished names, all of them with a sterling record of meritorious work. There are three, however, who cannot be passed over without individual mention. First, there is the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, Bishop of Newport, to whom St. Lawrence's owes affectionate recognition as a constant friend and warm supporter; whose teaching when Professor at Belmont many Benedictines of the present day remember as the brightest and most valuable portion of their scholastic career; most honoured of the bench of English Catholic Bishops; a writer whose works will live long after he has gone from among us. Then, there is Abbot Bury, oldest son of Alma Mater, a Theologian and Professor of high rank, a great builder of churches and schools, Provincial of the North Province during one of its most thriving periods, at all times, even when not in office, a leader amongst his brethren. Lastly, there is Abbot Prest, a man who has led an official life almost from his entrance into the Order—Procurator, Sub-prior, Prior for eight years, second-elect Provincial and President, Cathedral Prior, Abbot; the prudent and painstaking councillor, whose advice is always valuable, unprejudiced and mature, gracefully tendered and never withheld. Among the dead was Abbot Hickey, another Provincial of the North, cheerful and kindly, of large mind and generous heart; Dr. Gillett, one of the humblest and saintliest of men, the typical novice-master, Rector of the Sydney University; Fr. Lawrence Shepherd, a novice-master also, translator of the *Année Liturgique* and chaplain of Stanbrook Abbey for very many years; and Fr. Maurus Anderson, Prior and afterwards Cathedral Prior, successor of Fr. Cooper at Ampleforth, at all times a man of even temperament and admirable regularity; the constant upholder of ancient tradition and wholesome usage.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

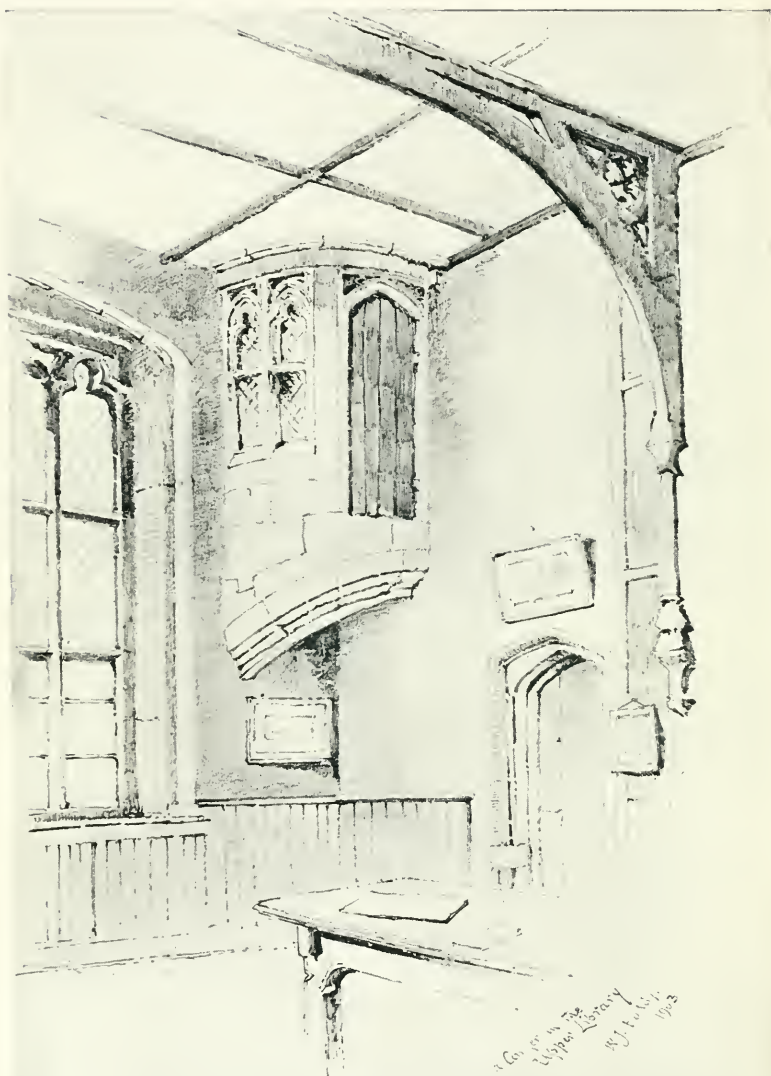
Old Ways and Modern Improvements.

So much has been written, during recent years, in various College Histories and Recollections, about ancient school-boy customs and games that any detailed account of Ampleforth's old time ways would contain a good deal of what has been written elsewhere. The Catholic colleges abroad, before the French Revolution, had so much in common that there is a family likeness in the traditions they brought back to England with them. The "First Thursday"—"Blandyke" at Stonyhurst—belonged to all Catholic Colleges. The old-fashioned 'swiping' cricket with no overs and unlimited sides, hand-ball, bandy, rounders, cross-stick, racquet, were played in all, sometimes under different names, but in the same way and under similar rules. Horniholes was peculiar to Benedictine establishments. The rules of football varied somewhat, but the Catholic game—if we may so term it—was everywhere of the same Association type. The hours of rising, arrangement of study and recreation, meal-times, prayers, food, course of studies, divisions of classes, and dress, both before and after the uniform was discarded, were so nearly allied that they were clearly evolutions out of the same stock. Only in a few things did St. Lawrence's differ from the rest.

One of these was connected with theatricals—not with the annual Shakesperian effort (varied occasionally with *Venice Preserved*, *The Critic*, and a few other well-known pieces) more or less efficiently put on the boards and with



THE STAGE
F. J. Daniel 1900



occasional parts done surprisingly well, nor with old-fashioned farce of the J. Maddison Morton type; but with musical plays—King's nights, as they were called—and Operas. These were all of them original compositions, at least as to the libretto; and in some elaborate instances, they were operas in three or more acts, with orchestra and admirable staging—not the usual College adaptations of well-known works, but of home-made excellence through and through, both in words, music, dresses and scenery. At the beginning they were more after the style of the modern pantomime extravaganza, a curious mixture of prettiness and burlesque, fairy tale and topical allusion: *Ali Baba*, with its charming encomium of “Tea, soothing Tea” will be well remembered since it has been repeated in recent years, and *Jack the Giant Killer*, where the Ogre, captured but not killed, and convicted in the last act of being a Fenian, is condemned by a judge and jury to the hard labour of “working at the brook”* will not be forgotten. The *New Boy*, produced in 1863, lived a long while in schoolboy tradition through its Football and other College songs. Then came what may be termed legitimate opera, developed out of the ‘King's night.’ This, as the name denotes, was a shapeless survival of the boy-king—one of the Christmas institutions of our English colleges in ancient days. It consisted at Ampleforth of a full-dress procession, before the theatricals commenced, in which the actors and others took part. There was always a king of some sort as an excuse for the name; and generally an extemporaneous interlude or some pre-arranged buffoonery ended the show. A little later, following a prevailing fashion, nigger minstrelsy, with the newest of old jokes and most ancient of new riddles, wound up the procession. This gave way to little musical interludes:—*The King of the Cannibal Islands*, *The King of Hearts*, and *Solyman the Magnificent*,—all well put together and prettily con-

* The first attempt at an out-door swimming bath. AA

ceived; the last a three-act piece not wanting in dignity and dramatic pretence. They were more than sufficiently successful to warrant bolder and higher efforts. At the Christmas of 1868 the first real opera saw the footlights.

The advent of Herr von Tugginer as Professor of Music had much to do with the brilliant success of the first operas. He had energy and knowledge, and a facility in writing graceful and expressive music. His worldly experience counted for much in a monastic college. He not only composed the music and organized an orchestra, but he painted scenes, designed dresses and arranged theatrical effects. Professor von Tugginer was mainly responsible for the brilliant success of *The Miller of Sans Souci*, with a libretto by Fr. Placid Whittle, and *King Robert of Sicily*, with a libretto by Fr. Paulinus Hickey. These were succeeded by *Robin Hood*, *The Silver Cross*, *Saul and David*, and others, the joint productions of Fr. Anselm Burge, now Cathedral Prior, author of the music, and Fr. Placid McAuliffe the librettist. Up to a certain point, the success and brilliancy of these productions was cumulative with the procession of the years. Each fresh effort was undertaken with riper experience, greater mastery of musical difficulty, a richer and more varied stock of theatrical properties, newer and more elaborate stage-effects; but the exceptional quality of voice—then at its freshest and best—and the perfect execution, of the leading soprano, Mr. Donald Kennedy, has made *The Silver Cross* the most enthusiastically remembered of the College triumphs. A history of this kind is not the place for criticism or eulogy of such accidental successes of old time. The narrow glories of the college stage, the plaudits and enthusiasms of an audience of schoolboys and their friends—even when some local or friendly newspapers take note of them—count for little in this big world, and it is not altogether for their success they are mentioned here. They deserve remembrance and call for

record as evidence of the liberal and artistic spirit of St. Lawrence's in the days of their happening—a spirit which, if not an education in itself, lends a grace to more solid accomplishments and throws a glamour, as of warm sunlight, on the cold routine of the student's life at college.

Ampleforth has for more than half-a-century had good reason to be proud of its music. There have been ups and downs, times when good voices were scarce, and promising instrumental leaders undiscoverable; but altogether it had and has a traditional excellence both in singing and instrumental accomplishment. Perhaps the college orchestra was at its best at the time of the Mozart Centenary in 1892, under the direction of Fr. Clement Standish and Professor Herr R. W. Oberhoffer. But it has had several best days, mostly under the same excellent directors, and very many good ones.

In the same category of educational graces should be classed dancing and drawing. The former went out in 1862 and belongs, with the “use of the globes” to grandfatherly, or rather grandmotherly, educational specialities. But the latter has received more successful attention at St. Lawrence's than in most colleges. In accordance with general collegiate custom it has always been at Ampleforth an *extra*, though a popular and substantial one;—sufficiently so to suggest the flattering exaggeration, more than once made, that every Amplefordian is an artist. Certainly, it has been well enough taught for many who have passed through the school to have retained and practised the accomplishment as a recreation in after life, and for many others to have devoted themselves with success to architectural and other artistic professions. Every one is familiar with the work of Mr. Herbert Railton, an old pupil, who may be said to have founded a school of book illustration. The illustrations in this history and in the issues of the *Ampleforth Journal* are the unprofessional work of Laurentian pupils of old

and present days. They will speak for themselves and may be left to set down fairly and modestly the truth or falsehood of the Amplefordian belief that its art-training is creditable and distinctive. One fact further should be noticed here. During the century now completed three professors of drawing and painting have divided the period between them. In early days there was Mr. Gainsford, the admirable copyist of "The Three Maries", an accomplished draughtsman and painter in oils. To him succeeded Mr. Gell, a man of varied talents, who helped greatly in the building work of Prior Cooper's days—he is said to have planned the Guest House and to have designed and carved the many crosses on the buildings—and carried on the excellent tradition of Mr. Gainsford. Since then, for a jubilee of years, Mr. Boddy of York has presided over the Laurentian Art-School. It is to his sound judgment, mature methods and tactful instruction that Laurentian draughtsmen are indebted for such skill as they possess, and to his genial encouragement that they owe much of their enthusiasm. Individual talent always counts for something in the schoolboy, and the exceptional brilliancy of a pupil may, on occasion, enhance the reputation of the teacher; but a uniform excellence of some fifty years is a certificate of merit which belongs, not chiefly, but solely and wholly to the professor.

Let the Laurentian school of Photography also be noted dating now from more than fifty years back—from the days of the daguerreotype and silver plate—and keeping pace with successive improvements. One can remember how the Cholmeleys and Wombwells and other notables sat to the College photographers at the introduction of the *carte-de-visite*, and this for no other reason than the artistic excellence of their productions. The existing specimens of work done in the fifties and early sixties have a delicacy and finish of their own even when subjected to a comparison with high-class modern efforts. Unhappily, the vast

collection of ancient negatives in the College studio has been wrecked, though happily the art itself was never more vigorously pursued than it has been in recent years.

Just as most boys with literary tastes plan a tragedy, begin an epic, or write chapters of a story at some period of their scholastic career, so in the history of every school one is sure to meet with sporadic attempts at journalism. Ampleforth is no exception to the rule. Its earliest magazine *Tô IIân* was born in the year 1815 and lived for five years. What immediately succeeded is not known to us. The years between 1830 and 1845 are almost empty of school records, even in the shape of fossils or débris. *The Collegian* first saw the light in 1846, and under the editorship of William Prest and James Hickey, was continued until replaced by *The Student*, first of Ampleforth magazines, and one of the earliest of all College journals, to find its way into print. Both in intent and in fact the *Student* was a memorable production. It called itself, for sub-title, "A Journal of Miscellaneous Essays, written for Self-culture and Mutual Improvement by the several Schools of St. Lawrence's College, Ampleforth." As genuine boys' work, when compared with most modern student magazines, it suggests the difference between a Quarterly and a sixpenny Monthly. Self-culture in those days meant something beyond a knowledge of text books and a nodding acquaintance with the lighter English and foreign Classics. Abstract and philosophical subjects, treated in a surprisingly intelligent and individual manner, are the staple contents of the different numbers. Boys are much the same now as then, and are just as little ashamed or afraid to have very positive theories on subjects Aristotle would have treated with diffidence; the present generation of students will write an essay on 'Evolution,' or 'Heredity,' or 'Positivism,' and criticise Darwin and Herbert Spencer, just as readily as their predecessors wrote on 'Style' or the 'Sublime' or 'Scepticism,' and criticised Burke, Kant, or

Lord Macaulay. But the writers of the *Student* attacked their subjects as if they were really familiar with them. Choice of theme may or may not tell us of the culture and ambitions of the Schoolboy authors—there is always the question how far their professors may have prompted them in such choice—but we should be able to judge of their proficiency by the standard of maturity and intelligence displayed in the treatment of such themes. This at least may be said of this old magazine that the essays are adequate enough to prove that the students of those days gave time and thought to abstract studies, and did not merely take them up to make “copy” out of them.

The *Student* was too good to have a long life, or perhaps it was too ambitious to be popular. It stopped issue after three years, 1852—1854. A multitude of written magazines, senior and junior, of varied but not exceptional merit, cropped up afterwards at intervals. Some of them were illustrated with pretty pen and ink vignettes, and most had elaborate frontispieces. Their names may revive pleasant memories in some of our readers. They were *The New Collegian*, *The Pantathlon* (1855—1859) *The Palæstrum*, *The Tyro*, *The Union*, *The Polydoron*, *The Phoenix*, *Excelsior*, *The Mowbray Echo*, *Winter Hours*, *The Magazine*, *The Ruby* (1865—1869), *Hours of Leisure*, *The Literary Association*, *Evening Hours*, *Winter Leaves* (1875), and others, no doubt, which have perished and are forgotten. The interest they excited in the School was very great, but nearly as ephemeral as that of a newspaper. The writers and their classmates were as proud of their offspring as though it conferred a title of nobility; but, chiefly because the poems and essays are unsigned, the volumes have been little looked at after their own short day, except for the sake of the ornamental frontispieces and the illustrations.

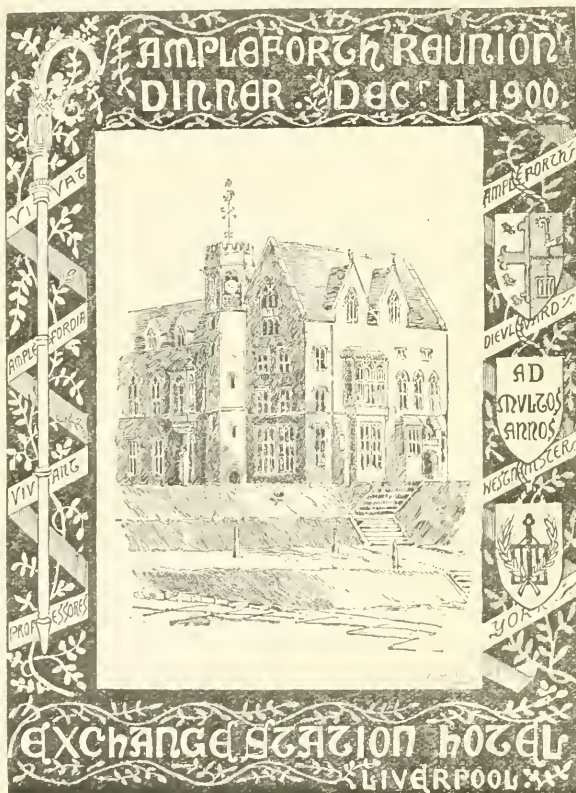
In the eighties these written magazines disappeared, to reappear very shortly after as a printed College Diary,

which in turn has developed into a published magazine. This is the *Ampleforth Journal* of which nothing further need be said save that it has now flourished for eight years, and shows no sign of degeneracy. It holds its own with the best of College Magazines in England and elsewhere, and has one speciality—the illustrations already mentioned; all of them drawn, many of them etched and printed, by college artists.

To write, in a history of this kind, of modern advantages and improvements must inevitably read like self-advertisement. Still, they cannot be passed over. Though many of them may not merit mention for their own sakes, there is a sense in which they need it. A new establishment is presumed to be up to date; but an ancient one may be expected to give evidence that it has advanced with the times. People who are going to live in a sixteenth century house have a commendable curiosity to know if it has a modern system of drainage. There is so little connexion between bathrooms and gothic-traceried windows that one needs to be satisfied of their co-existence. For this reason it may be briefly stated of Ampleforth College, that students need not take the coach at the Red Lion in York as per ancient advertisement, but are now put down by the N.E.R. at a station (Gilling) conveniently near the college; that lamps and ‘dips’ and ‘moulds’ have long been supplanted by gas from the college gas-works; that a large handsome swimming bath has superseded the occasional plunge in the river Rye, and a suite of hot and cold water baths the Saturday-night tub; that hot water has put out the fires in the old stoves; that cricket is now played on a smooth, levelled field and not on a toboggan slide; that on rainy days the students can exercise themselves at a gymnasium, or recreate themselves at a billiard board instead of vaulting over the tables in the playroom; that there are pictures everywhere on the walls instead of wet football prints; that football is now a science and sprinting an art;

and that heu! the comparatively modern game of horni-holes has given place to the royal and ancient game of golf!

Like most Catholic Colleges, St. Lawrence's has made the usual efforts to keep in touch with the old boys



after they have left school. There was a Sodality in Prior Burgess' time, and there has been more than one revival of it since. But nothing permanent or successful was initiated until the *Ampleforth Society* was founded at the Midsummer Exhibition of 1875. The Marquis of

Ripon was present on the occasion and kindly consented to be nominated as a Vice-President, and His Lordship, Bishop Hedley, was elected both Vice-President and Chaplain. The first President was George Chamberlain, Esq., J. P. Since then the Superior, of the College, formerly the Prior, now the Abbot, is *ex-officio* President. The object of the Society is concisely stated in the second of its rules: "to unite past students and friends of Ampleforth College in furthering its interests, as well as to keep alive amongst the past students a spirit of affection for their Alma Mater, and of good will towards each other." It cannot, of course, be claimed for the Ampleforth Society that it is exceptional in conception or even in importance; nearly every modern college can boast of some such organization; and, as is natural or native to them, even the smallest has and can have no rival or equal in its own estimation or in that of its college. Neither can it claim priority of foundation, though it ranks among the earliest, and has served as a model for others that have come after it. But it can claim to have been admirably managed and to have done all that was expected of it and more. It is an institution which has contributed greatly to the present prosperity of Ampleforth Abbey.

Besides bringing old students together and fostering their love of Alma Mater—the annual re-union of members at the Midsummer Exhibition has done both—the Society proposed to itself "to stimulate a spirit of emulation amongst the students by annually providing certain prizes for their competition." To take this very important aim as a summary of the material benefit of the Society to the College would be to do it an injustice. It has taken a pride in helping pecuniarily every good work the College has undertaken. It has contributed handsomely to the improvement of the *Journal*; it has furnished incentives to skill in cricket and the games; it has supplied handsome bookcases to the boys' libraries, prizes to their athletic

sports, contributions to every work undertaken for their comfort; it has bought expensive instruments for their Natural Philosophy and Chemistry rooms; it has erected the monumental fire-place in the monastic calefactory and made a handsome donation to the building fund of the new monastery. Its last and best work has been to found a triennial scholarship in connexion with the Oxford University. May it continue to prosper and to do increasing good both to itself and to St. Lawrence's!

Let a brief mention of our little house at Oxford, 103 Woodstock Road, called "Hunter-Blair's Hall" from its present Head, close this imperfect list of modern improvements. In July 1897, it was suggested by Prior Burge, and assented to by the monastic Council, that a beginning should be made at Oxford of what, it was hoped, would develop into a Benedictine College. The removal by the Holy See of the prohibition which practically forbade the residence of Catholic undergraduates at the English Universities, warranted the attempt and inspired the hope of success. A house was rented and furnished, and a beginning made; the Rev. Sir David Hunter-Blair, kindly undertaking, with the permission of Abbot Linse, the presidency of the little establishment. The University authorities were most friendly in all the needful preliminaries. Hunter-Blair's Hall is now an institution of over five years' standing. It has been wholly successful up to the present time, mainly through Fr. Edmund Matthews' tact and energy; and though it is still as modest in its pretensions as when it first received black-robed monks within its doors, it has bright hopes of the future. A backward spring usually has in it the promise of a rich harvest. Ampleforth Abbey should not fear small beginnings, especially at a time when it recalls its own pitiful outlook a hundred years ago. We hope and believe that a kind Providence will bless and prosper the infant fortunes of the little Oxford Hall.



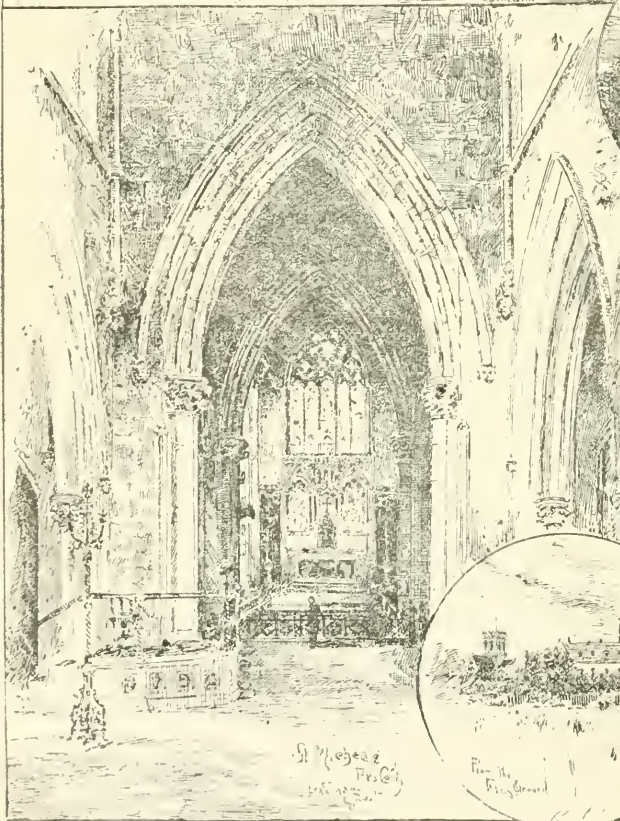
Acorns
in the Wood.



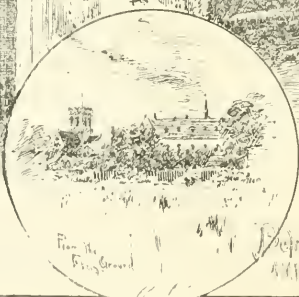
Reigate Church



Castle Room, Windsor
at the opening of the
Tavern.



St. Michael's
Presbytery



From the
Bury Ground



Reigate Church
from the
Tavern

CHAPTER XXXV.

Ampleforth Abbey.

PRIOR PREST, who succeeded Prior Anderson in 1866, did more than anyone who had gone before him to ameliorate the condition of student life at Ampleforth. It was he who laid out the cricket ground and fitted up the handsome bath-room; who lighted the establishment with gas; who fitted up a steam laundry and improved the kitchen and cooking department; who substituted drinking fountains for the old pump; and generally introduced modern comforts wherever they were called for. He may be described as finishing and perfecting Prior Cooper's work. He gave particular attention to the church, which he completed and embellished in a multitude of ways. The new organ, the costly stained-glass of the east window, the tabernacle and throne, the relic-altar, the rood-screen—most original in conception—carved stone Stations, the great Monstrance the handsome high-altar cross, the sanctuary lamp, new vestments and altar furniture of every kind, were added during his term of office. During Prior Prest's reign also, the foundations of the New College which had been disturbed by a landslip, were pinned securely by huge underground buttresses, each composed of some tens of thousands of bricks. But his good deed of most lasting importance was the purchase of the adjoining fields, grange and farm buildings of Sootheran's farm.

Less than half-a-dozen notices of events will bring down the history of the material St. Lawrence's to the final fact, the erection of the new monastery. During Prior Whittle's

administration new carved-oak stalls were placed in the choir. Prior Burge re-laid the floors of the sanctuary, choir and some of the side-altars with specially-designed tiles and marble slabs. Finding two of the old wells vitiated, after some experiments with rams, he sank a new well on the hill-side—discovered by the divining rod—and dug out a new and larger swimming bath. These and other of the small re-arrangements, renewals, accretions, furbishings—the pruning and trimming, growth and development which tells of active healthy life—filled up the years between the opening of the New College in 1861 and a fresh expansion which fifty years back would have seemed a vain imagining,—a desirable but practically unattainable and quite unnecessary ambition.

Prior Burge's ten years rule over St. Lawrence's was, even more so than Prior Cooper's, a period of reconstruction. With an unusually wide experience of scholastic methods, he set himself to hasten the development of the College and bring it into step with the times. The traditional course of studies had been well enough. It had formed good monks, good students and good men. It could not very well have been bettered for the days to which it rightly belonged. It was sound and admirable still; time and use had made it venerable without bringing with them wear and decrepitude. But it was becoming, if it had not already become, unsuited to modern requirements. We are not called upon here to discuss the various methods of education. Whether it is better for a student to be brought up mainly on the Greek and Latin classics, or to be subjected to the hard diet of science and practical knowledge is a subject we may leave to college debating societies. But we may assert as a truism that the modern boy, who is to be the father of the modern man, should be trained by modern methods. Learning is always made out of the same stuff, but we may wear it with a difference. It is only right and proper that for the modern boy it should

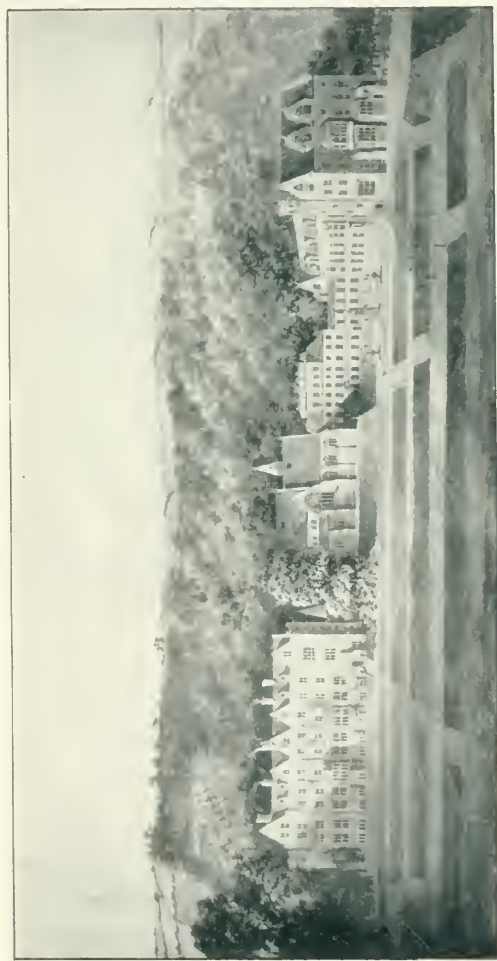
be cut after the modern fashion. Parents would have a right to complain if their children had to unlearn or forget very much of what they had been taught at College. It is true that education is a training, and this training meant to our ancestors just exactly what it means to us. It is quite true also that the finished article of a hundred years ago was quite equal to anything we can produce now. But our training or education is not wholly for the sake of training or education; it is for the making of men and gentlemen, but of men and gentlemen fitted for twentieth-century life and work. We Laurentians would be very proud to turn out a modern Milton or a modern Johnson, but it should be recognized as quite essential for present-day success that they must be modern. An athlete prepared by Greek methods for the Isthmian games might be a perfect model for a sculptor, but he would probably break down under the strain of a University boat-race.

Ampleforth College has always professed to prepare students for the public examinations and has an excellent record in the work. But in the older days such preparation was, to some extent, outside the ordinary College course. A matriculation class had indeed been successfully introduced by Prior Prest's successor, Prior Kearney, who infused a literary spirit into the College. Priors Whittle and Hurworth who followed after, carried on the work which had thus been begun. Individuals also were presented at the higher examinations. But Prior Burge modernized the studies of all the classes of the School and made the College course a direct preparation for the public examinations of the present day, and for an after-career at a University. More than this, as has already been said, he conceived and carried out, as the completion of his work, the establishment of an Ampleforth Benedictine Hall at Oxford.

Progress and prosperity go hand in hand. It was the popularity and success of Prior Burge's concessions to

modern ways which made it possible for him to venture on the erection of a new monastery on a noble and costly scale.

Time was when a community of a dozen monks and a school of some eighty boys had been able to serve God, with quiet happiness if not with full comfort, in the house which has been rejected as inadequate to the needs even of the monastic portion of the inmates of St. Lawrence's. In Prior Burgess' days, and for a full quarter of a century afterwards, room was made in it for a chapel, public rooms and cells for the monks, college rooms and dormitories for the boys. It might be thought, therefore, that it should have been quite big enough, convenient enough, and handsome enough for a monastery accommodating some twenty or thirty brethren. The truth is the conditions of the monastic life had become wholly changed. Sixty years ago the English monks, had been forced to hide their monasticism in the cupboards of their cells. The habit was worn only at their clothing and profession, and all such purely monastic ceremonies were held within closed doors. They could not have felt the need of a monastery because they did not dare to possess one. Gradually, however, the existence of monks and cloisters had grown into an admitted if not a legally-recognized fact. And gradually the monks had begun to feel that their monastic observance was disfigured by being cramped into what had been designed, or at least better fitted, to be a hiding place. "*Cucullus non facit monachum*;" but on the other hand, the swallow-tailed coats, buckled shoes and university gowns of our old Laurentian fathers did not become monastic habits when they were worn by religious men. So the old Ampleforth Lodge, though occupied by monks, though ever so much enlarged, did not and could not become a monastery. It could, at its best, only be a makeshift. This was not felt or understood all at once. Cramped limbs hardly feel they have been



AMPLEFORTH ABBEY FROM THE SOUTH.

cramped, until they have had room to straighten themselves out and have tasted the sweets of freedom.

An important event preceded the building of the monastery. Seventeen years ago, Ampleforth celebrated the Silver Jubilee of the opening of the New College. Two persons took part in it who had been prominent at the great ceremony in 1861. One was Bishop Cornthwaite, whose blessing of the new building had been his first Episcopal act after his consecration and whose Silver Jubilee as Bishop coincided with that of the College; the other was Bishop Hedley, who on the earlier occasion composed the "Ode to Alma Mater," since and doubtless for all time Ampleforth's spirited and beautiful National Anthem—if we may misuse a word to better the sense—and who at the commemoration delivered the Jubilee address. In the address, his Lordship described in words which will not be forgotten by those who heard them the change that had then taken place in the position of the English monks. He referred to the old days when the monks had "settled—now eighty-four years ago—here in Yorkshire, in the small presbytery or lodge which forms the centre of the present monastery. Community life in its essentials has been carried on from that day to this. The divine office has never ceased; the succession of Priors has been kept up; discipline has been maintained; the holy Rule and the Constitution have been observed. But the country was very Protestant; it was impossible at first even to wear the habit. The resources of the community were small; church, chapter-house, refectory, cloister, existed only in name, and the complete monastic cycle of observance, on which so much of the monk's happiness and progress depend, necessarily remained for many years incomplete." Then he went on to tell how, thirty-two years before, "the decree 'Regulari Disciplina' made important changes in the mode of admission to habit and vows, and established a triennium of simple vows. And it is

only four years since the Constitution 'Romanos Pontifices' traversed the whole ground of the relations between the regular bodies and the possessors of the ordinary jurisdiction of the country. These two dates are the beginning and the end of a series of quiet and progressive changes, both in the interior of each institute and in its relations with the hierarchy. . . . Twenty-five years ago there were one or two grave doubts before the English Church. We might have doubted—men did doubt whether the missionary life would break up the monastic life altogether. The answer of this Silver Jubilee is that the monastic life is more solid, more firm, more deep than ever. It was doubted whether the monks ought not to be driven within their cloisters and their missionary life put an end to. The Holy See has decided, and the Silver Jubilee records it, that the country is still a missionary country, and that religious men are laudably employed in the mission. And it might also have been doubted whether the privileges of the regulars would not hamper and obstruct the ordinary jurisdiction of the hierarchy, as though two independent armies were in the field. The Silver Jubilee finds the principle of order thoroughly recognized, the details clearly worked out, and the system in the most admirable operation. Thus, after nearly a century—for it will be a hundred years in a year or two since St. Lawrence's fled from Dieulouard, and became a wanderer in England—after nearly a century of trials, weakness, opposition, and uncertainty, we stand, on this memorable day, in a definite and legitimate position, resting upon the old traditions, in touch with the Holy See and the hierarchy, with our way straight before us, to do what is in us for the monastic ideal and the carrying to our countrymen of the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

When these words were written there was scarcely any thought of any further immediate development of

English Benedictine monasticism. Yet only four years later, by the Bull "Religiosus Ordo," Pope Leo XIII began a movement which, culminating in another Bull "Diu quidem" gave to the three English Priories the title and dignity of Abbeys. The Silver Jubilee, which had seemed to mark the evening of a period of striving and of uncertainties happily brought to an end, had proved to be the bright herald of a new and fuller day. In effect it was the establishment in England of the monastic Hierarchy. For the same reason as before 1850 parochial England had been administered by Vicars Apostolic who ruled not over dioceses but over districts, so up to the year 1890 the missionary labours of the Benedictine monks had been under the supremacy, not of Abbots who ruled over Abbeys, but of two Provincials who governed the Provinces of Canterbury and York. The arrangement was as abnormal as the division of England into vicariates. The modern North and South Provinces bore no resemblance to the pre-Reformation Provinces of Canterbury and York except in name. So great had been the multiplication of Benedictine Houses in England before the dissolution of the Monastic Orders, that it was a convenience to divide them into Northern and Southern groups, so that the old Provinces had been made up of Abbeys and Priories. The modern Provinces were made up of an assortment of individual monks professed in various houses, and for as much as they belonged to the Province they dwelt in, they were monks without a monastery. Their bond of union was not much stronger than that of members of a Guild or trades-union. Their obedience to the Provincial was not rigid and absolute, though it was gradually growing fuller and stricter; his authority was rather directive, helpful and judiciary. It was a system designed, and admirably designed, to stimulate and develop personal effort, suited to the days when safety lay in remaining unnoticed, and strength in offering no point of attack; when mobility,

adaptability and individualism were necessary tactics, and any close and evident organization would have been quickly broken up. The arrangement was thoroughly Benedictine in so far as it was an adoption of the best means to the end in view—the conversion of England. But, though within the scope and true to the pliant spirit of the Rule of St. Benedict, it was yet abnormal in that it was a departure from traditions and formulas almost as sacred and time-honoured as the Holy Rule itself. The Benedictines, it is true, had been thrown out in the front of the battle when lighter-armed troops were unknown. They had been apostles and pioneers of the Faith long before the modern missionary congregations were formed. But their normal place is now and has long been in the solid phalanx of the army of Christ. They man its walls and keep its castles; they fortify its outposts. Their monasteries are the strong places to hold the enemy in check and to secure the positions that are won. And into whatever country they move, they settle down and organize themselves into garrisons and home regiments, becoming a true, loyal and integral part of the national life and policy. There have been Benedictines who were aliens in the country where they dwelt—emigrants, invited guests, beneficiaries, exiles, seeking and receiving hospitality, like the French communities who are with us now; but their presence was generally due to accident, persecution or calamity—a temporary expedient; or if more permanent settlements were made they were on the same footing as the colonies of Flemish weavers in the olden time, or like Irish regiments in the service of the *Grand Monarque*.

All true change must begin from within. Bishop Hedley wrote of the re-settlement of the Religious Orders, completed by the issue of the Bull "Romanos Pontifices," "it may be claimed for the English Benedictines that they have initiated most of these changes or improvements themselves." It may be claimed also in respect of the later changes—

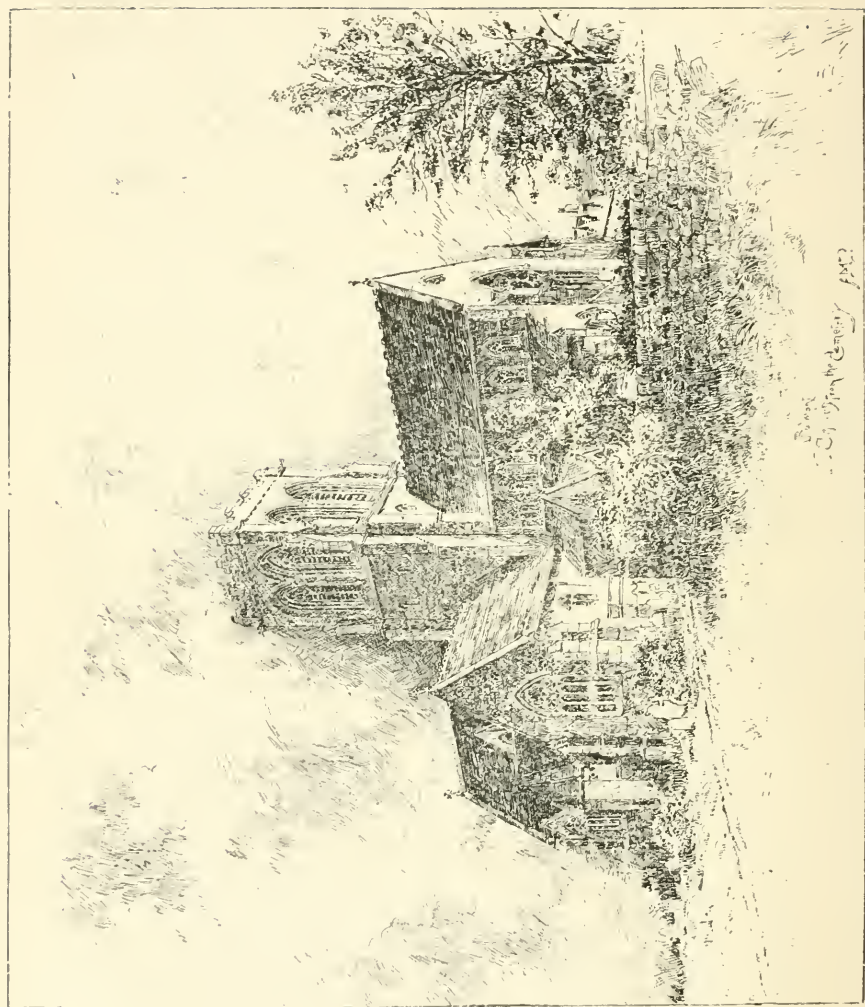
the abolition of Provinces, the dividing and grouping of the missions around each monastery as a mother-house and these institution of abbatial government—that they were begun in England and not in Rome. They had been discussed for many years and were believed by some, who were neither innovators nor enthusiasts, to be inevitable. But it is doubtful if the English monks would ever have dared to introduce so complete a reversion to Pre-Reformation ways if left to themselves. Perhaps they had too much reverence for their own ways to break away so completely from them. Perhaps they honoured the ancient names of the Provinces of Canterbury and York too much readily to part with them. They were certainly, most of them, contented that their houses should remain Priories as they had been for three centuries. They acknowledged that something should be done; but they so little knew what was best and right that it was a relief to them when the Holy See took the matter out of their hands, and Pope Leo XIII *proprio motu*, by the Bull “*Diu quidem*,” solved the question by raising Downside, Ampleforth and Douai to the dignity of Abbeys. Moreover, though they may have made little account of the Abbatial title for its own sake, they could not but be flattered by the gracious expressions of approval which accompanied the gift.

Bishop Hedley, in his Silver Jubilee address, refused to look into the future, but he had no doubt that if any “of our young friends with that capacity for hope and that power of seeing God’s angels which youth and happiness confer have tried to sing the future of St. Lawrence’s. . . . They have seen it, first of all, a new monastery for the poor monks; . . . they have beheld stones and mortar encroaching on garden and terraces, orchard and fields; they have transformed Fr. Prior into a mitred Abbot. . . .” If they did have this vision they saw exactly what was afterwards to take place. Indeed the jubilee festival was

hardly over when preparations were made for the required building of the monastery, not however encroaching on "garden and terrace and orchard" but on the field to the west of the church. Within three years the first definite steps were taken, and Mr. Keogh was called by the College Council in consultation on the matter. Competitive plans were asked for from Catholic architects, and in 1893 Mr. Bernard Smith's plans were chosen and accepted by the Building Committee which had been formed.

In the spring of 1894, the first sods were cut. That same year a tramway was laid from the College to Gilling station, the foundations were begun, and the ecclesiastical ceremony of blessing the stone was performed by Bishop Hedley (July 10th.) There was a belief in the House at the time—a very youthful and inexperienced one—that the work would be completed in about twelve months. As it turned out, the building was only fully roofed in at the Midsummer of 1897, and was not occupied for another year. Even then it was only brought into a temporary and partial use.

The completed monastery is a tall, spacious building of four stories and a basement, joined on to the old monastery by a small cloister. It is of great architectural beauty. The whole of the basement is taken up by the monastic library, consisting of some 30,000 volumes, many of them of extreme rarity. The calefactory, lecture-halls and the abbot's rooms are on the first floor; above are the cells of the monks—forty-eight in all. The public rooms are on the scale of the larger Abbeys of pre-Reformation times. The beauty of elevation and detail is difficult to describe in words, and may be better judged from the drawings which illustrate this history. With its stone walls, brick partition-walls and cement floors even in the dormer story, the building is practically fire-proof. Mr. Smith, the architect, has been exceptionally successful in his lavatory arrangements,—those accessories of modern comfort which are



now recognized as not incompatible with monastic austerity. Fitted and complete the new Monastery has cost more than £20,000. Of this the friends of the College subscribed £6,300. In addition there were gifts of furniture and pictures; the latter chiefly Arundel Society chromolithographs for the walls of the great cloister.

So closely did the Bull of Pope Leo XIII "*Diu quidem*" follow on the perfecting of the interior fittings and the furnishing of the new Monastery that it seemed as if a kind Providence had guided its erection in preparation for the changing of the old Priory of St. Lawrence into Ampleforth Abbey. It proved to be the obscure 'rough hewing' for an end already shaped in the mind of God.

In the year 1891, as a result of the Constitution "*Religiosus Ordo*" the Benedictine missions were divided between the three convents, and to Ampleforth fell St. Anne's and St. Peter's in Liverpool; St. Alban's and St. Mary's in Warrington; Brownedge, Brindle, Leyland, Lee House, Goosnargh, Aigburth, Parbold, and Wrightington, all in Lancashire; Maryport, Workington, Harrington, and Warwick Bridge in Cumberland; Abergavenny, Merthyr Tydfil, and Dowlais, in South Wales; Knaresbro', Aberford and Easingwold in Yorkshire, Barton-on-Humber in Lincolnshire; besides Brandsby Hall, Ampleforth, Helmsley and Kirby-Moorside served immediately from the monastery. Of these one, Wrightington, has passed in the hands of the Bishop of Liverpool. But since then, Blackwood, Kirkmuirhill, in Scotland; Canton, Cardiff; St. Benedict's, Orford Lane, Warrington; Cockermouth in Cumberland; and Mayfield in Sussex, have been undertaken as new missions by the monks of Ampleforth Abbey. At the time of writing, besides his Lordship Bishop Hedley, our most distinguished Amplefordian, and the Abbot of Ampleforth, St. Lawrence's numbers in its family two other

three Abbots, one Cathedral Prior with jurisdiction, four titular Cathedral Priors, the Prior of the Community and, in addition, fifty-eight other priests, eighteen brothers not yet ordained, six novices, and three lay-brothers—a total of ninety-five religious men, now living, who have put on the habit in its cloisters.

In the division of honours on the occasion of the erection of the three monasteries into Abbeys, the titular Abbacies of Westminster and York, and the Cathedral Priories of Durham, Worcester, Chester and Rochester were attached to Ampleforth Abbey—the Westminster title as a recognition of the lineal descent of St. Lawrence's from the great Abbey of olden time. None of the titular Abbacies enjoyed by the English Benedictines date back beyond the year 1818, when four of them were granted by Pope Pius VII at the petition of Bishop Slater; but most of the Cathedral Priorships have been in their possession from the date of their own first institution as a Congregation by Paul V. It was the intention of the Holy See in granting them to bind the new English Congregation to the old; to continue the ancient rights and privileges; to enable the English Benedictines without further warrant to restore the old priories should it ever be in their power to do so; and to give them an inalienable right to constitute the Chapters of the twelve Cathedrals if the Bishoprics should ever fall again into Catholic hands.*

Here this history of St. Lawrence's may fitly close. Perhaps it would be better called a retrospect, for the conclusion is made at a beginning rather than at an ending, and it is hoped and may be believed that the most distinguished portion of the history of St. Lawrence's is hidden in the unwritten future. Though it has lived now for some 300 years, it has never been better furnished and better manned—better trained and disciplined, we of the present

* V. Bulla "Plantata."

generation dare not say with the memory of the devotion and heroism of our fathers fresh in our minds—for its appointed task. Our fore-fathers had no wish to be distinguished amongst men. Their inclination was to shrink from titles and honours. The names of Abbey and Abbot had no charm for them. They were proud of their descent from the old Abbey of Westminster, but they buried themselves contentedly in the obscure work of a small Catholic college, in the quiet routine of country missionary life, and in forgotten labours among the poor. There were many wiser, and more learned scholars than those whose works are known to the world; many more martyrs than wasted away in prisons or perished on the scaffold; many saintlier and more heroic lives than are noted in our annals. Their lives for the most part were hidden lives. The English Benedictines have in these latter days been brought more prominently before the world. It seems to be the wish of the Holy See that their flag should be lifted up so that men may see it, that their figures should be shown and their voices heard outside the walls of their cloisters. As English missionaries, our fathers of old made themselves as little distinguishable as possible from their zealous secular brethren. They fought in the ranks under the common flag. Now, the monks have been marked out for a separate service, not a higher or a more distinguished one, but more distinct and characteristic. God alone knows if they will fulfil the hopes that have been placed in them. Their encouragement is in the past—in the history of their forefathers and the memory of their deeds; in the great things done with such scanty resources; in the generous courage and ready sacrifice that met discouragement with constant cheerfulness and difficulty with unflinching trust; in the holy lives and faithful labours of the brethren who have gone before them, and who pray and intercede for them before the throne of God.

APPENDIX.

List of the Priors of St. Lawrence's at Dieulouard.

Fr. Augustine Bradshaw	..	..	..	..	1608
(He was nominally Prior, but Fr. Nicholas Fitzjames, the Sub-prior, acted for him.)					
Fr. Gabriel Gifford	..	..	.	..	1609
Fr. Paulinus Appleby	..	..	..	..	1610
(Fr. George Brown, who had been appointed, did not accept.)					
Fr. Edward Maihew	..	..	..	..	1614
Fr. Jocelin Elmer	..	..	..	..	1620
Fr. Columban Malone	(died in office)			..	1621
Fr. Lawrence Reyner	..	..	..	..	1623
Fr. Jocelin Elmer	..	..	..	..	1629
Fr. Cuthbert Horsley	..	..	..	..	1641
Fr. Lawrence Reyner	(became President in 1655)			..	1653
Fr. Cuthbert Horsley	(Superior until Chapter)			.	1655
Fr. Cuthbert Horsley	(became President in 1659)			..	1657
Fr. Placid Adelham	..	..	..	..	1659
Fr. Cuthbert Horsley*	..	..	..	..	1661
Fr. John Girlington	..	..	..	..	1677
Fr. Bernard Gregson	..	..	..	..	1681
(Re-elected in 1685, accepted office, but afterwards resigned.)					
Fr. James Mather	..	..	..	..	1685
Fr. Mellitus Walmsley	..	..	..	..	1687
(He was drowned in the Moselle; Fr. Alban Fuller acted as Superior until Chapter.)					
Fr. James Mather	..	..	..	..	1689
Fr. Lawrence Champney	..	..	..	..	1693

* In the text, page 139, by a printer's error, Fr. Horsley's reign (1641-1677) is made to end in 1647.

Fr. Francis Watmough	..	..	..	..	1701
Fr. Robert Hardcastle	..	..	..	..	1710
Fr. Bernard Lowick	..	..	..	..	1713
Fr. Lawrence Champney	..	..	..	..	1717
Fr. Francis Watmough	..	..	..	..	1721
Fr. Bernard Catteral	..	..	..	..	1733
Fr. Ambrose Kaye	..	..	..	..	1755
Fr. Gregory Cowley	..	..	..	..	1765
Fr. Dunstan Holderness	..	..	..	..	1773
Fr. Jerome Marsh	..	..	..	..	1781
Fr. Jerome Coupe	..	..	..	..	1785
Fr. Richard Marsh	..	..	..	..	1789

(Also at Acton Burnell, Tranmere, Scholes, Vernon Hall and Parbold.)

At Ampleforth.

Fr. Anselm Appleton	..	..	..	..	1802
Fr. Bede Brewer (President and Prior)	..	..	..	..	1806
Fr. Richard Marsh (Provincial and Prior)	..	..	..	..	1806
Fr. Gregory Robinson	..	..	..	..	1810
Fr. Clement Rishton	..	..	..	..	1815
Fr. Lawrence Burgess	..	..	..	..	1818
Fr. Adrian Towers	..	..	..	..	1830
Fr. Bede Day	..	..	..	..	1834
Fr. Anselm Cockshoot	..	..	..	..	1838
Fr. Ambrose Prest	..	..	..	..	1846
Fr. Wilfrid Cooper	..	..	..	..	1850
Fr. Maurus Anderson	..	..	..	..	1863
Fr. Bede Prest	..	..	..	..	1866
Fr. Stephen Kearney	..	..	..	..	1874
Fr. Placid Whittle	..	..	..	..	1880
Fr. Basil Hurworth	..	..	..	..	1883
Fr. Anselm Burge	..	..	..	..	1885
Fr. Oswald Smith	1899

(Who was elected and blessed in the year 1900 First Abbot of Ampleforth.)

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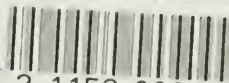
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